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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

CHARLES EDWIN BENNETT

AND

GEORGE PRENTICE BRISTOL

No XII

A STUDY OF THE GREEK PAEAN

BY

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Ph.D.

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

BY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1900

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A STUDY
OF
THE GREEK PAEAN

WITH
APPENDIXES CONTAINING THE HYMNS FOUND AT
DELPHI, AND THE OTHER EXTANT
FRAGMENTS OF PAEANS.

BY
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CORNELL STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, No. XII.

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PREFACE.

The present study of the paean was undertaken with the purpose of determining more accurately the meaning of the word as used by the tragedians. It soon became evident that an examination of the whole subject was necessary, in order to understand the different uses of the word, as well as the place of the hymn itself in Greek cultus. Most of the material was collected by Schwalbe in a Magdeburg Program (*Ueber die Bedeutung des Pääns als Gesang, im apollinischen Cultus*); but his starting point, as well as his conception of the different uses of the word in their relation to each other, seems to me radically wrong. The statements in handbooks of Greek literature and antiquities are also defective, where they are not positively erroneous.

In the first appendix I have reprinted the paeans and fragments of paeans that are preserved to us; and in a second appendix I have reprinted with some comments the hymns found at Delphi, to all of which the name paean may be applied. The text of the French edition is reproduced with little or no change, and I have reserved my comments for the notes.

Passages from the lyric poets are cited from Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*; for the dramatists I have used Dindorf's *Poetae Scenici Graeci*; other writers as far as possible are cited from Teubner texts.

In spelling Greek proper names, I have felt at liberty to use either a real English equivalent (Plato, Lucian, etc.), or a Greek transliteration (*e. g.*, Paian, Paieon, Herakles); but I have tried to be consistent in the use of one form for any one word. For the titles of Greek works I have followed the usual practice in adopting the Latin form.

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

ITHACA, NEW YORK,
10 April, 1900.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION,	1
Note on the etymologies proposed for the word <i>παῖδν</i> ,	2
CHAPTER I.—The God Paian,	4
The independent god Paian. Paian as Apollo. Paian a name for Asklepios. Zeus Paian. Paionios, an epithet. Paionaios, a name for men. Result,	6
Paeon, the hymn. Which came first?	7
Excursus on the names of gods that are also names of hymns, ..	8
Epithets from formulae of prayer,	11
The paeon originally an invocation of the god Paian,	12
CHAPTER II.—The Paeon a Hymn Used to Avert Ills,	14
This its original meaning. Cases where it retains this meaning.	
CHAPTER III.—The Paeon before Important Undertakings,	18
1. In general : before a voyage, etc.,	18
2. Before joining battle,	19
Order of events before the battle,	20
Limited musical character of the battle paeon,	23
Connection of battle <i>παλαιστράς</i> and the paeon,	24
CHAPTER IV.—The Paeon a Hymn Used in Worship,	25
1. The paeon as used at Delphi,	25
(a) Paeon of Aristonoos,	27
(b) First hymn with musical notes,	28
(c) Second hymn with musical notes,	28
Note on the refrain, Eurip. <i>Ion</i> . 124, 141 ; Soph. <i>Phil.</i> 828,	30
2. The paeon in the worship of Apollo at Delos,	31
3. At Thebes,	32
4. At Sparta ; Hyakinthia ; Gymnopaïdiai,	32
5. Other cases of the paeon in worship,	34
(a) Apollo ; (b) Artemis ; (c) Asklepios and Hygieia ; (d) Athena ; (e) Dionysos ; (f) Pan ; (g) Poseidon ; (h) Zeus.	
The paeon of Isyllos, of Makedon, etc.,	36
The Delphic paeon to Dionysos,	38
6. The paeon in the generalized literary account of sacrifice. Connection with libation and banquet,	40
Discussion of Aisch. <i>Choeph.</i> 342, 151 ; Eurip. <i>Alc.</i> 423 ; Aisch. <i>Frag.</i> 156 ; Aisch. <i>Agam.</i> 644 ; <i>Sept.</i> 867 ; Eurip. <i>Troad.</i> 122, 578 ; <i>Helena</i> , 177,	41

CHAPTER V.—The Form of the Paean Used in Worship,-----	45
1. Literary structure of the paean,-----	45
2. The metre of the paean, -----	46
3. The paean refrain,-----	48
4. The divisions of the paean hymn, -----	49
5. Music with paeans,-----	51
6. Performance, -----	52
7. Occasions when the paean was appropriate, -----	53
CHAPTER VI.—The Symposaic Paean,-----	56
Connection with sacrificial banquet. Position between banquet and symposium. Religious character. Aisch. <i>Agam.</i> 246.	
Performance, -----	58
The marriage paean, -----	59
CHAPTER VII.—The Paean of Victory,-----	60
As a processional hymn,-----	60
As an altar hymn,-----	61
As a shout of victory,-----	62
The paean as a hymn of joy and a hymn of praise, even to men, -----	64
CONCLUSION—Definition of the Paean,-----	66
TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAEAN,-----	68
PASSAGES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT,-----	69
APPENDIX I.—Extant Paeans and Fragments of Paeans,-----	101
§ 1. Fragments of paeans preserved in literature,-----	101
A paean-prayer in Aristophanes, -----	105
Chorus in the style of a Delphic paean, -----	106
§ 2. Paeans preserved in inscriptions, -----	107
APPENDIX II.—The Hymns Discovered at Delphi,-----	111
1. Paean to Apollo by Aristonoos,-----	112
2. Second hymn to Apollo, -----	119
3. Third hymn to Apollo,-----	129
4. Paean to Dionysos by Philodamos,-----	139
INDEXES, -----	155

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A STUDY OF THE GREEK PAEAN.

INTRODUCTION.

αἱ δὲ εἰς θεοὺς ᾠδαὶ κοινῶς μὲν παιάνες, ὕμνοι· ἰδίως δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ὕμνος οὐππιγγος, Ἀπόλλωνος ὁ παιάν, ἀμφοτέρων προσόδια, Διονύσου διθύραμβος, Δήμητρος ἱουλος. λῖνος γὰρ λιτιέρσης σκαπανέων ᾠδαὶ καὶ γεωργῶν. Pollux, Onom. I, 38.

In this list of Greek hymns the paean challenges our attention as the word which is both a general name for hymn, and a particular name for the hymn to Apollo. The word paean more than any other (except perhaps the very general word ὕμνος) is used for the hymn as a part of the religious service, so that a study of the paean is important for the history of Greek religion. More specifically it is used for a particular hymn in the service of Apollo, while at the same time the word is used as an epithet for Apollo and less commonly for other gods. In the study of the paean, therefore, we may hope for light not only on the musical side of Greek cultus in general, or on the worship of Apollo in particular, but also on the nature of Apollo and on his relation to other gods who receive the name Παιάν. If the subject is approached with some particular theory of the nature of Apollo, *e. g.*, the theory that Apollo is a sun god* the facts can probably be adapted to the theory; I shall ask the reader, however, to approach the facts as far as possible without prejudice, in order to ascertain just what light they have to throw on these questions.

We have a few references to works in antiquity dealing with the paean and with the god Paian. The treatise of Didymos¹ ἐν παιᾶσιν is generally thought to be a commentary on the paeans of Pindar. A similar work by Semos the Delian, if we may judge

* Cf. C. Pascal, *de Apolline Paeane*, Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica XX, 1892, p. 277 f.

by the extracts in Athenaios,² must have been a treatise on hymns in general. Zenodotos of Mallos wrote a work probably entitled *Παιονίη*, defending the identity of Apollo and Paieon in Homer (cf. *infra* p. 4, note).

In the present century Schwalbe has collected most of the material, but his treatise proceeds, as I believe, from a starting point that is entirely erroneous. According to Schwalbe,* K. O. Müller,† Bernhardt,‡ and Christ,§ the paean is primarily a song of thanksgiving. According to Stengel|| the name originally indicated a kind of sacred song peculiar to the worship of Apollo and Artemis. Maury¶ holds that it was originally a song to Paian the god of healing, a god who was later confounded with Apollo. Clearly the first question to be determined is as to the nature of the old god *Παῖάν*, if there was such a god, and as to his relation with Apollo. Granted the existence of such a god, the paean as a hymn derived its original character as well as its name from its relation to him. If in this way the original meaning of the paean can be discovered, the relation between the different forms of the hymn in actual use can be determined far more easily. That the paean was used before and after battles, at the symposion, and in the solemn worship at Delphi, is clear to every reader of Greek literature. The relation between these different forms of the paean, however, has been stated differently by almost every writer who has attempted to grapple with this problem.

NOTE ON ETYMOLOGIES PROPOSED FOR THE WORD.

Students of Greek religion have frequently looked to etymology for light on the nature of the Greek gods. The circular character of much of this reasoning is well illustrated by derivations pro-

* *E. g.* p. 9.

† *Dorier*, I, 350.

‡ *Griech. Litteratur*, II, I, p. 623.

§ *Griech. Litteratur*, p. 110.

|| *Griech. Sakralt.* p. 59.

¶ *Religions de la Grèce*, II, p. 133.

posed for the word *paian*. To the Greek the word when it meant healer, suggested the verb *παύω*. In Sophokles, *O. T.* 150, Apollo is called νόσον πανστήριος just before the ode invoking Delian Paian, and the later Greek commentators frequently explain the word from this root.^{3*} The word was also connected with the verb *παίω*† a meaning which fitted in very well with the use of the paean before battle.

It is hardly necessary to mention the suggestion of Welcker‡ that Παιάν is another form for Φαίαν, which is equivalent to Φάων another form of Φαίθων. The ordinarily accepted derivation of the word is that proposed by Pictet in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* V, p. 40. He connects it with the Sanscrit root *pu* meaning to cleanse, and regards the Greek word as equivalent to a Sanscrit **pavyānvan* formed from the feminine abstract *pavyā*. More recently Bannack§ has offered another explanation. He regards Παιάν as shortened from the refrain *ιεπαίαν* which is equivalent to *ι(ε) ἐπ' αἰάνα*.|| In this formula, *ι(ε)* = *βάδισε* and **αἰάν* is equivalent to *αἰάφων* (Sanskrit *aīsa-van* from the root *aīś*). In a word the refrain means "Go to the Helper" or Healer, and the noun is shortened from the refrain.

Between the forms *παίδν*, and *παίων*, I can find no distinction of usage, and there is no reason to doubt that they are but different forms of the same word. (Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 328.)

*Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.*, 636; *Etym. Magn.*, 651; Eustath., 137,40; Didymos in *Etym. Gud.*, 446, 51; *Et. Or.*, 133, 32, etc.

†Aristoph. *Pax*, 453 f.; Eustath., 138, 7; Macrob. *Sat.*, I, 17, 16,⁸¹ and as used in Delphic worship⁷¹⁻⁷³.

‡*Griech. Götterlehre*, I, 542 and 454.

§*Studien*, I, 153.

|| The refrain occurs in the form *ιὲ παίδν*, with an *ε* instead of *η*, in the paean of Isyllos, as well as in two of the paeans found at Delphi.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOD PAIAN.

In the fifth book of the *Iliad*⁴ we read that Paieon applied soothing herbs to wounds of the gods and healed them "in the house of Zeus on high Olympus." In the *Odyssey*⁵ the physicians of Egypt are said to be of the stock of Paieon; *i. e.*, Paieon appears as a minor god, the physician of the Olympic deities,⁶ and the patron or ancestor of human physicians. It is part of what has been called the rationalism of Homer that magic has little or no place in the epic world (although cf. *Odys.* xix, 441 f.); and in accordance with this principle the healing art consists of the scientific use of herbs, not of magical incantations. Exactly the same view of the Healer-god is presented in a fragment of Hesiod⁷ preserved in Eustathios and the Homeric scholia. The Hesiod fragment expressly distinguished Paieon from Apollo. Aristarchos rightly regarded Paieon as independent from Apollo in Homer; but Krates adopted a very dubious reading in *Od.* iv, 231, which identified the two, and Zenodotos* is said to have composed a book in favor of this view. It is impossible to find support in Homer for any other view than that of Aristarchos.

Paian (or Paion) is still an independent deity in Aischylos.⁸ He is the divine physician, the Healer, who is invoked not so much in case of disease as to protect from evils that threaten to overwhelm a house or an army. The specific meaning of the word is always clear; he is distinctly the Healer both to the poet and to his reader, but at the same time he is a divine person whose aid is directly invoked in time of trouble. He is so clearly a person that we may object to any interpretation which does not bring out his individual, personal nature. So we should render, *e. g.*, *Agam.* 99⁸, "Prove thyself a Paian (*i. e.*, a Healer) of this anxiety." And this applies also to the adjective *παιώνιος*. *Suppl.*

* Cf. Schol. Veron. Verg. *Aen.*, XI, 738; Wachsmuth *de Cratete Mallota*, p. 28; Usener, *Götternamen*, 154, and n. 19.

1066⁹ *χειρὶ παιωνίᾳ* is not simply "with healing hand" (a meaning which fairly obtains, *e. g.*, in Theophrast. *Histor. Plant.* ix, 8, 6²⁹) but "with the hand of Paian, *i. e.*, of the Healer." Again when the adjective refers to the hymn as in Aisch. *Frag.* 142¹⁰, I would read "with prayers that are paeans" rather than "with healing prayers." In *Agam.* 848¹¹ the "drugs of Paian" recall the passage Hesiod, *Frag.* 139⁷, and Solon, XIII, 57¹². In *Agam.* 145¹³ Paian receives an epithet which in Homer* is applied to Apollo, just as in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo the paeon is a hymn used in the service of Apollo; this only makes it the more striking that in Aischylos Paian is so clearly distinguished from Apollo.

In Pindar¹⁴ the function of Apollo as the god of healing is fully developed; and yet in the one passage where Paian is mentioned, he is a distinct person, the patron god of physicians as in the *Odyssey*, iv, 232. It is true that Apollo was the *ἀρχαγέτας* of Kyrene,† but the reference in *Pyth.* iv, 270, is rather to the patron of physicians than to the patron of the city.

In Sophokles (*Oed. Tyr.* 154)¹⁵ the beautiful ode to the Delian Paian clearly refers to the god of Delphi whose dictum is awaited with such interest; and the references in Euripides¹⁶ to the Delphic god under this title of Paian, show that at Athens it became a regular title of the Pythian Apollo, although the word *παῖάν* still means the "healer".²⁸ In an inscription of the period of the Peloponnesian war (C.I.A. I, 210¹⁷) we have the combination *Ἀπόλλωνος Παιῶνος* which may be rendered "Apollo who is Paian;" nor do we ever find the adjective *παιώνιος* used as a real epithet of Apollo in the way that it is used, *e. g.*, of Athena. Even in late inscriptions (C.I.G. 1946, 5039)¹⁸ Paian is rather another name for Apollo than a simple epithet. In later literature generally‡ Paian should probably be understood as another name for Apollo the healer, although archaizing writers retain the god Paian as an in-

* *Iliad*, XV, 365; XX, 152.

† Pindar, *Pyth.* V, 60.

‡ *E. g.*, Plato, *Leg.* 664 C¹⁹; C.I.G. 5973 c²⁰.

dependent deity.²⁷ On the other hand in the Selinunte inscription I.G.S. I, 269¹⁷, we may almost certainly regard Paian as distinct from Apollo; probably the two were not thought of as one until after the date of this inscription.

The function of healing and with it the name of the Healer god were also associated with several other gods. In the fourth mime of Herondas²¹ the god of Triikka, Kos, and Epidauros (*i. e.*, Asklepios) is invoked as Lord Paieon; and the mime includes a paean hymn (lines 79 f.) at the successful termination of the sacrifice. Again in an epigram from Epidauros, the great seat of Asklepios worship, a priest of Paieon is mentioned.^{22*} It is hardly probable that there was actually a separate priesthood of a god Paieon at Epidauros, although this is of course possible.† In later inscriptions Asklepios is addressed as Paian, in the same way that Apollo is.‡ The paean as a hymn used in worship is also transferred from the service of Apollo to the service of Asklepios (cf. Chapter IV).

Of Zeus Paian we know (from a gloss preserved in Hesychios) only that he was worshipped at Rhodes.

Turning to the adjective form of the word, *παιώνιος*, we find it as an epithet of Athena on the great altar at Oropos (Paus. I, 34, 3); Athena Paionia is also mentioned at Athens (Paus. I, 2, 5). According to Hesychios, Dionysos was worshipped as Paionios. Dionysos was also addressed as Paian in the Delphic hymn (cf. Appendix II). On a vase (published in A.Z. 1852, Taf. 37) representing a company of youths in Bacchic revel we read (C.I.G. 8385)²⁵ *παιάν κῶμος νεανίας*. Voigt§ translates "Schlussgesang des Symposions" and explains the scene as the return from the "Choengelage." To me it is evidence that Dionysos was addressed as Paian in hymns used in his worship.||

* Έφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, σ. 25.

† Cf. Cicero *Verr. act.* II, iv, 57, 127-128²³.

‡ C.I.G. 2292²⁴ from Delos, 3158 from Smyrna, 3538 from Pergamon, and 511 = C.I.A. I, 171¹⁵. Cf. Kallistr. *Descript.* X, 4²⁴. The word is used rather as another name for him, than as an epithet.

§ Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 1072, 54.

|| Cf. the paean to Dionysos found at Delphi, and late Orphic hymns.²⁵

We also find evidence of a hero with a name formed from the same root, viz., Παιωναῖος. At Olympia near the altar of Herakles παρὰσάτης stood the altars of his brothers Epimedes, Idas, Paionaios, and Iasos (Paus. V, 14, 7). The list corresponds closely to the list of Kouretes in Elis to whom Rhea entrusted the infant Zeus, viz., Herakles, Paionaios, Epimedes, Iasios, Idas (Paus. V, 7, 6). Here Paionaios is a hero in a list of other heroes who practice the arts of healing. Paion also appears as an eponym hero (Paus. V, 1, 3)²⁶. Finally, several men of this name are mentioned, of whom the best known is the Thracian sculptor from Mende.

The facts before us are these. In Homer and down to the middle of the fifth century B.C., Paian is referred to as an independent deity, and is never identified with Apollo. At Syracuse and perhaps at Epidauros he continued to be worshipped as an independent deity. The name is later applied to gods of healing, Apollo, Asklepios, and in adjective form to Athena as goddess of healing. At Delphi, if not elsewhere, it is also applied to Dionysos. A name formed from the same root is applied to a hero of healing. In these facts Usener* finds the proof that an old deity Paian was once very widely worshipped all over the Greek world; but that he was supplanted by other gods of healing such as the Ionic Iatros, so that we find only scattered survivals of a worship that was once so important. There may be question as to the extent and importance of this early worship, but the facts fully justify the supposition that Paian was originally a distinct god, a god of healing, and that he did not become merged with Apollo and Asklepios until later times.

In the Homeric hymn to Apollo the *ἡπαιῶν*, i. e., the hymn of which this is the refrain, is mentioned as a hymn used in the worship of the Delphic Apollo. This is very naturally explained by saying that the hymn with this refrain was early transferred from the worship of Paian to the worship of Apollo; and even in the Iliad (xxii, 391)¹⁷⁹ we find that the paean as a hymn is not

* *Götternamen*, p. 155 f.

limited to the invocation of the god Paian. This raises the question whether we are to think of the god as first, and of the name of the hymn as derived from the name of the god in whose service it was used; or whether perhaps the hymn came first and the name of the god was derived from its refrain. That the hymn was originally a healing song, a song to procure relief from sickness or pestilence, is clear; for it was intimately connected with Paian the old god of healing, whichever of the two may have the priority in time. K. O. Müller* and Welcker† assert that the god was prior to the hymn to which he gave his name. The question is not an idle one, for if we find reason to think that the hymn came before the god, *i. e.*, that it was originally an old incantation song of healing, it would throw an interesting light on the history of the god Paian.

EXCURSUS

ON NAMES OF GODS THAT ARE ALSO NAMES OF SONGS.

a) Ritual songs of mourning (with erotic character):

Λίνος	Ἀρπαλύκη
Ἄδωνις	Ἰάλεμος
Καλύκη	

b) Songs of harvesters (often dirges):

Διτνέρησης	Βῶρμος
Μανερῶς	

Ἰουλος, Οὔλος (cf. Demeter Ἰουλῶ, Οὔλῶ, Καλλίουλος).

c) Other cases:

Οὔπιγγος (cf. Artemis Οὔπις, Ὠπις.)
 Ὑμεναῖος, Ὑμήν.

Compare also the epithets of Dionysos which are identical with refrains of hymns, and with cries used in his worship, the song *ἰόβακχος* with refrain *ἰὸ Βάκχε* from the name *Βάκχος*; the cries *ἐλελεῦ*, *εἰοῖ*, *σαβοῖ* and the epithets *Ἑλελεύς*, *Εἰῖος*, *Σάβος* and

* *Dorier*, I, 298.

† *Griechische Götterlehre*, I, 542.

Σαβάζιος. Possibly the name Ἰακχος comes from the *ιαχαί* of his worshippers (so Schol. Aisch. *Sept.* 635), as Διθύραμβος comes from the name of the hymn.*

In regard to many of these cases the evidence is insufficient to determine whether the song or the god is the older. The Linos song† was regarded by the Greeks themselves as a dirge with the refrain αἶλιον, = Semitic *ai lenu*, "Woe to us"; the refrain appears, *e. g.*, in Aischyl. *Agam.* 121, 139, 159. In this case the song, and later the person were named from a foreign refrain, and finally the story of Linos was developed from the same source. According to Herodotos (II, 79) Maneros was simply the Egyptian form of Linos; in this case also it has been suggested‡ that the song was named from an Egyptian refrain, and that the god and his story arose out of the song.§—The myths of Bormos and Kalyke seem to be purely aetiological; they but furnish the setting for songs that in all probability were much older. The fragment of Stesichoros (Athen. xiv, 619 D) is of course on a different plane from the popular songs, and utilizes the myth for literary purposes.—Harpalyke and Harpalykos were figures quite independent of the song that goes by the same name, *i. e.*, the song does not seem to have originated in praise of the Harpalyke of whom the myths are told. The song is a ritual erotic dirge|| and it is quite loosely connected with the Harpalyke myth.—The Adonis song (or Ἀδωνιασμός) is another quite clear instance of a song and later a god named from a refrain that had been adopted from a foreign language. All the worship of Adonis was Semitic in character, and originally had reference to the god Tammuz¶ (= Du-mu-zi). Along with the worship the Greeks adopted the

* Gurlitt, *Homeric Hymnen*, VII, 120, suggests that ἥιος as an epithet of Apollo comes from the cry *tē*, and is another form for *tēios*.

† Homer, *Iliad*, XVIII, 570; Hesiod in Eustath. 1163, 62.

‡ Roscher, *Lex. sub. tit.*

§ Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 364.

|| Cf. Aristoxenos in Athen. XIV, 619 D; E. Rohde, *Griechischer Roman*, p. 128.

¶ Ezekiel VIII, 14.

refrain *Adon ai* "Our Lord," a refrain equally appropriate to any Semitic god. This refrain became the Greek name for the god whose worship they had adopted.* This case differs from the Linos song in that only the name for the song and for the god arose from the foreign refrain; the god himself and the main features of his worship were adopted from the Semites.

According to Apollodoros,† Ialemos, Lityerses, and Ioulos were invoked in the refrains of songs called by these names. Ialemos (cf. Ialmenos) was invoked in a refrain perhaps of foreign origin, and understood as equivalent to *αἶλινον*; the story of Ialemos is simply a copy of the Linos myth with no original features. Lityerses was a Phrygian harvest song invoking the god of this same name; the word is of foreign origin and the god expresses the type of the idealized harvester ("Personennamen für eine ätiologische Fabel" Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* p. 282). The hymn to Ioulos is explained by Usener‡ as an invocation of the sheaf of wheat, in particular of the last sheaf that was cut. In this instance the name is not of foreign origin (Cf. Curtius, *Griech. Etym.*⁵ p. 576, cf. 358 f. from the root *vel*, Latin *volvere*), and the hymn is named for the god who is invoked in the refrain. The god Iouλος is known to us only on the authority of Apollodoros;§ in his case as in the case of the god Paian no myths gather about a name that the Greeks understood. The word does appear, however, as an epithet of Demeter (Οὐλώ, 'Ιουλώ); in the hymn of Eratosthenes|| apparently it is the old refrain which is adapted into an invocation of Demeter Ioulo.

It is idle to make conjectures about the *οὔπιγγοι*, the hymns to Artemis, which are mentioned as sung at Troizen (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I, 972). Probably they are to be connected with the

* Cf. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* p. 274 ff. and especially Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 389. *ὁ τ' Ἀδωνιασμός οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν . . . 392 ἡ γυνή δ' ὀρχομένη, αἰαὶ Ἀδωνιν.*

† *περὶ θεῶν* Fr. 37, F.H.G. I, 434.

‡ *Götternamen*, p. 282.

§ Cf. also Schol. Theokr. X, 41.

|| Athen. XIV, 618 D; Hiller, *Eratos. carm. reliq.*, p. 23 f.

epithet *Ὀπίς*, *᾽Οπίς*, used in addressing Nemesis at Rhamnous (Kaibel, *Epig. graec.* 1046) and Artemis in Crete, (Kallim. *H. Art.* 240 f) and as a cult epithet elsewhere. I can get no light as to the meaning either of the hymn or of the cult epithet.

The *ὑμεναῖος* or marriage song is already known in the epic ;* the god of the same name is mentioned only later, and his position in Greek mythology was never fixed. The refrain with which he is invoked later† uses both the name *Ὑμεναῖος* and also *Ὑμήν*, a form which does not appear except in this formula. If we are to accept the derivation of the word from the root *ὑ* (Sansk. *su*) which Schmidt suggests,‡ Hymen would mean the "begetter," and it would be an old god who is preserved to us in the song. On the other hand if we accept the suggestion of Prellwitz§ and connect it with the root *syu*, Hymen means the "joiner" and the word might apply either to the god or to the marriage song. Certainly the song is much better known than the god in Greek literature ; moreover, Hymenaios is the god of the marriage *song* rather than the presiding genius of marriage ; so that I incline to the view that in this case the god was derived from the refrain of the marriage song, a refrain the origin of which we cannot explain with any confidence.

In the case of Dionysos, it is evident that many of his epithets arose from the cries and refrains used in his worship. And in the case of the gods generally there is one class of epithets which may be explained in much the same way, namely, as due to the recurrence of some *request* to these gods, repeated in the form of a refrain. Zeus may well have been worshipped as *καθάρσιος* and Hera as *ἐνεργασία* and *τελεία* because the request of the worshipper for purification or for blessing on some particular undertaking, in particular on marriage, became formulated in a refrain which furnished at length a name for the god. Most of the hymn phrases

* *Iliad*, XVIII, 493 ; Hesiod, *Scut.* 274.

† Sappho, *Frag.* 91, 107, 108 b ; Eurip. *Troad.* 310, 331 ; Aristoph. *Pax*, 1332, *Aves*, 1736.

‡ *de Hymenaeo et Talasio*, 1886.

§ *Etym. Wörterb. sub ὕμην*.

which correspond to epithets,* however, are rather word-plays on epithets than sources of epithets. But from the very fact that epithets were all-important in prayer† we may argue that probably some epithets arose from phrases recurring in the refrains of prayer hymns.

The result of this examination of cases where the same word is used to denote a god and the peculiar form of hymn used in his service, does not yield any uniform explanation of the phenomenon. In some instances it is perfectly clear that the refrain was adopted from another language, and that from this refrain the hymn was named, and out of the hymn the personality of the god was developed (Linos); in other cases the name of the hymn and of the god had the same origin, but the god himself was adopted along with the foreign refrain (Adonis). In most cases the evidence seems to show that the hymn or at least the refrain was older than the god. In at least one instance, however, (Ioulos) the god antedates the popular hymn of which his name forms the refrain. So far as epithets of the gods are concerned, some probably arose from hymn refrains, and certainly some hymn refrains arose from epithets.

Perhaps the Ioulos hymn is the closest parallel to the paean, though the god Ioulos never had such a clearly developed personality even as the god Paian. That the god Paian antedates the hymn in the refrain of which he is invoked, we may argue (1) from the fact that there is no evidence that the hymn was an *ἐπιψόδιον* which healed by its own power (although cf. Porphyry, *Vita Pythag.* 33³⁹). The hymn had in itself no healing efficacy; therefore it had no significance except as it was addressed to a god of healing. Moreover, Paian the god always heals by drugs, not by magical means;‡ in fact there is but little evidence in Greek literature for any extended use of incantation and magical methods by Greek physicians. The paean is a healing song in

* Cf. Welcker, *Kl. Schr.*, V, 37 ff.

† Cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 334 ff.

‡ *Iliad* V, 401, 899⁴; Hesiod *Frag.* 139⁷.

that it is addressed to the god of healing. Again (2) the god Paian is a somewhat distinct character independent of the song. He appears in Homer as the physician of the gods and the patron of human physicians, and he never disappears entirely from the world of the gods. Even when he is identified with Apollo or Asklepios, the word does not become an epithet proper, but it continues to mean what it had always meant, the Healer-god. It is true that no myths gather about the name, but the reason for this is evident; the word Paian, like the word Iatros, itself meant the Healer, so that it could not attract to itself other traits and become a hero in myth as did, *e. g.*, the Thessalian god of healing, Cheiron.

It still remains to be explained how the paeon came so early to be connected with the worship of Apollo at Delphi, if it was originally an invocation of a distinct god Paian. So far as we know Paian had no special connection with Delphi, and in the Homeric Hymn Apollo brings the paeon with him in his triumphal journey thither. We must remember that even in the epic the paeon, *i. e.*, the hymn with the paeon refrain, had become dissociated from the worship of Paian and was used in worship (a) when help was needed, and (b) with the sacrifice celebrating a victory. When once the hymn was used in the worship of other gods than Paian, it was natural for it to appear in Apollo worship, for Apollo was closely allied by nature to Paian himself.

CHAPTER II.

THE PAEAN A HYMN USED TO AVERT ILLS.

No sharp line can be drawn between the passages in which the paean is distinctly a prayer for relief sung by those who are suffering from pestilence or from some other ill,³⁰ and passages in which it denotes a hymn used in worship. In each case it usually accompanies a sacrifice, and in ordinary worship the element of petition is rarely wanting; *e. g.*, *Iliad*, I, 472 f.³¹ might be discussed under the more general heading of the paean as used in worship, and on the other hand Eurip. *Alc.* 424¹⁸⁰, *Iph. Taur.* 179¹²⁷, are examples of worship offered at a time when help is needed, which could be treated here.

The importance of the passages which I would group under the present heading, is that they represent, as I believe, the primary signification of the paean as a hymn. A contrary opinion, namely that the paean was originally a song of praise and thanksgiving to Apollo, has been maintained by Schwalbe.* The god Paian is not "ein streitbarer, siegender Gott" (Schwalbe, p. 6)—a false deduction from a supposed etymology—but the god of healing pure and simple. It is true that the paean is often contrasted with the *θρῆνος*, but the contrast is rather† between the glad hymn used in worship when help may be expected, and the lament over ills that cannot be cured, than between the simple expression of joy and of sorrow. Certainly we cannot take the list of hymns in Plato's *Laws* (700 B εὐχαί or ὕμνοι, θρῆνοι, παιᾶνες and Dionysiac διθύραμβοι) and argue by a process of exclusion "unter diesen geben εὐχαί and θρῆνοι sich unzweideutig als Bitt- und Klagelieder kund, und somit bleiben die Pāanen übrig als Ausdruck des Dankes und der Freude."‡ The difficulty with this

* *Ueber die Bedeutung des Pāan, als Gesang im Apollinischen Kultus.*

† *E. g.*, Eurip. *Iph. Taur.*, 179 ff¹²⁷.

‡ Schwalbe, p. 8 f.

hypothesis is found in the passages under the present heading and it leads Schwalbe to such an absurd result as the translation of *παίωνων* (in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 4³⁶) by *Dankgesänge* which were mingled with offerings of incense and groans of distress. And as for the forms of paean to be discussed later, some of them are songs of joy, others hymns of petition, but none of them are in reality *Dankgesänge*.

On the other hand it seems to me probable that the paean, the hymn invoking Paian the Healer, was originally a prayer for freedom from illness or distress. The connection between the god and the hymn seems to demand this starting point for the interpretation of the hymn. This position is strengthened somewhat by the consistent assertion of the scholiasts³⁰ that the paean is a hymn ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμοῦ ἢ κακοῦ,—whatever may be the basis on which this assertion rests. Moreover, the refrain ἰὴ Παιάν is ordinarily used in cases where relief is sought from disease or suffering (Aisch. *Agam.* 146¹³; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 154¹⁵, cf. 1097 and Nauck's note; Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 820³³, *Alc.* 92, 220¹⁶; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1211³⁴.)

The paean (*Iliad* I, 472³¹) was sung to Apollo as the god by whose wrath the pestilence was caused, and as the god whose function it was to free from sickness and evil. Transferred to the service of Apollo the Healer, it became an integral part of his worship. Plutarch (*de mus.* 42, 1146 C³²) gives another example of the power of music to overcome a pestilence, and the paean is so closely associated with the name of Thaletas that in this instance we may reasonably call his healing song a paean. In two passages from Aischylos the adjective *παιώνιος* refers to the paean as a hymn-prayer for relief in misfortune. In *Agam.* 1198³⁵ the oath is contrasted with a paean that might bring help to a fated house; *i. e.*, in general ills might be averted by the paean, or (cf. *Agam.* 848¹¹) the drugs of Paian might cure them, but in this particular case the fate of Agamemnon was beyond their power. According to Aisch. *Frags.* 142¹⁰ a priest might save the rulers by "prayers that are in the form of paeans." In Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 4³⁶, the paeans are hymns connected with sacrifices,

supplicating relief from the pestilence, but there is no definite indication as to the particular god to whom the sacrifices are offered. The invocation of the god of the Delphic oracle as Delian Paian by the chorus¹⁵, does, however, suggest that Apollo was the god to whom the paeans were sung rather than, *e. g.*, Athena.* We have no indication that this special supplication differed from the ordinary hymn of supplication and praise in the worship of Apollo, except as the element of petition was more emphasized.

Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 820⁸⁸ is interesting because the name of the god in the cry Ὀναῖ Παῖάν is immediately interpreted as meaning "Averter of woes." This is the same cry which we have from the Lacedemonian in Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 1211 f.³⁴) who wants to be cured from the blows he has received, and the answer of Dikaiopolis suggests that there were special occasions on which petitions for healing might be made with greater expectation of being granted. Of course it would be going too far to infer an actual festival of Paian in the religious calendar of Athens. Again, it is apparently a similar ejaculation which Epictetus alludes to as uttered without much thought by men who want help in illness (*Diss.* III, 10, 4⁸⁷). In Eurip. *Ion* (902 f.⁸⁸) the paean sung to the cithara is a hymn for relief in time of misfortune; here it is addressed to Apollo, and line 907 gives the burden of it. A passage from Aristoxenos⁸⁹ is interesting as showing that as a matter of actual practice paeans were sung in Italy to secure relief from a peculiar plague of insanity which attacked the women. This method of relief was appointed by the (Delphic) oracle. In this instance, however, it was the paean itself which healed by a sort of magical effect.

The use of the paean in time of distress was not limited to cases of illness. It was not illness but the impending fate of death from which there was no Paian to rescue Agamemnon (Aesch. *Agam.* 1198⁸⁵) In Euripides we find a striking instance of the paean-prayer for help in a case of extreme danger (*Iph. Taur.*,

* *Oed. Tyr.* 178-188.

1394 ff.⁴⁰). When Iphigenia sought to escape with her brother, wind and sea turned against them and threatened to drive them back on the inhospitable shore which they had left. Iphigenia rose in the boat and chanted a prayer to Artemis for help, and the sailors sung the paean in response to her prayer. This example forms a natural transition to the instances of a paean sung before embarking on a voyage or on some important undertaking, to be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAEAN A HYMN USED BEFORE IMPORTANT UNDERTAKINGS.⁴¹

In Greek religion, worship to avert a present evil, and worship before an event which might bring great evil, were intimately connected; the "sin-offering" was a sacrifice offered both in misfortune to secure relief, and also, in identical manner, before an important or dangerous undertaking to prevent an evil outcome. Similarly the paean, although it does not seem to be closely connected with these *σφάγια*, is none the less appropriate to both classes of occasions; so that the use of the paean before important undertakings, and in particular before battle, may be interpreted as a form of the "hymn to avert evils", which was considered under the last heading. This interpretation of the battle paean is given not infrequently in Greek scholia.* At first sight the battle paean seems to be quite unconnected with other forms of the paean, but the paean used before important undertakings furnishes the necessary link with the form of the hymn which we regard as primary.

1. The paean before important undertakings in general.

According to Thucydides's description of the setting forth of the Sicilian expedition (VI, 32⁴²), when all was ready silence was proclaimed, and they offered the *εὐχαί* which were customary when men set out to sea; not, however, by single ships, but in concert with the herald (or responding to the herald in concert, cf. Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1403 f.⁴⁰), while the seamen and officers poured libations of wine. The multitude on shore also joined the prayers, *ξυνεπηύχοντο*, i. e., they probably joined in the shout of *ὦ παῖάν*, which was the refrain to the herald's prayers. And when they had sung the paean and finished the libations, they set sail. With this departure and its high hopes Thucydides (VII, 75⁴³)

* Eustath. 137, 40; Schol. on Eurip. *Phoen.* 1102⁴¹.

contrasts the state of the troops later. In VI, 32⁴², the paean is the hymn with libation before an important undertaking, and it appears to be identical with the εὐχαί mentioned just before, *i. e.*, it is a hymn of supplication. So in Aischyl. *Agam.* 146⁴⁷ the paean is sung before a voyage, to prevent disastrous winds. In Aristid. I, 374⁴⁴ we have another instance of the paean on setting sail.* In Xen. *Anab.* III, 2, 9⁴⁵, the soldiers "made a vow and sang the paean" before setting out to cross the enemies' country. Εὐχή and paean may have been distinct acts; or the vow-prayer, which no doubt was in the form of a hymn, may itself have had the paean refrain. Finally, in Plato's *Critias*, 108 C⁴⁶, there is a reference to the invocation of Paian and the Muses before important undertakings. It is not impossible that the marriage paean† should be discussed under this heading rather than under the symposiac paean.

2. The paean before joining battle.‡

The paean, the hymn used before important undertakings in which danger may be expected, is peculiarly appropriate before a battle. In Homer, indeed, there is no mention of a battle hymn; the Greeks advance to the attack in silence,§ in contrast with the wild shouts (μεγάλῃ ἀλαλητῇ, *Iliad*, XIV, 393) which marked the Trojan onset. The sacrifice of Agamemnon with a prayer to Zeus for a successful issue of the battle (*Iliad*, II, 412 f.) corresponds most closely to the later paean. In the classical period the paean was regularly used before joining battle,⁴⁸ though apparently it might be omitted when a surprise was attempted.|| So much importance was attached to it that we may perhaps infer that in these instances something else took its place.

* Cf. the sacrifice of Telemachos on his ship as he set sail from Pylos (*Odyssey*, XV, 222); and the libation of Jason (Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 193) on the Argo; also the paeans of the Greeks when they set sail for Troy (Eurip. *Troad.* 126, discussed *infra* Chap. IV).

† Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1034; Plato, *Pol.* 383 B.

‡ Cf. The discussion of this topic by Müller, *Dorier*, I, 298 f.; Schwalbe, p. 29-36.

§ *Iliad*, III, 1-9; IV, 427-438. When the battle had once begun, the Greeks shouted freely (*Iliad*, IV, 449; XIII, 835).

|| Schwalbe, p. 32, n. 8.

Xen. *Anab.* IV, 3, 19⁴⁹ will serve as a typical instance. The river Kentrites is to be forded in the face of the enemy. Two youths report favorable circumstances, whereupon Xenophon pours out a libation and bids the soldiers pray to the gods, who have sent him a favorable dream. After libations by the other generals the arrangements for crossing are made, and the *μάντιες* perform the *σφάγια* at the river. When at length the *σφάγια* are favorable, all the soldiers raise the paean and utter the war-cry, while the women join with their *ὀλολυγή*;—then they go to meet the enemy. Later (§ 27) the Kardouchoi come against one division “singing certain songs,” whereupon (§ 29, cf. 31⁵⁰) a division of the Greeks receives the word to raise the paean and run to attack them. In this passage the paean has no direct connection with the *σφάγια*. When all is ready, the soldiers raise the paean and shout the battle-cry—in which the women join with their sacred cry—and immediately the attack is undertaken.

A comparison of this passage with others suggests the following order of events: (1) libation or sacrifice with prayer for success; (2) *σφάγια* to determine the right moment for the attack; (3) the paean is started by the general and all the soldiers join;* (4) then the soldiers run to the attack crying *ἐλελεῖ* to *Ενυαλίος*.† In almost all the passages the paean is distinguished from the battle-cry proper which is uttered in the moment of attack. In fact the paean often falls some time before the war-cry, for its proper occasion is when the army sets out to attack the enemy;‡ if the armies are near together, the one almost immediately follows the other‡; if, however, the armies are some stadia apart, the paean comes long before the actual attack.§ In most cases it is quite clear that the paean was raised (in the classical period) just before the advance actually began. An Iberian tribe, the Lysitanoi, (Diod. Sic. V, 34, 5⁵⁷) sang their paeans on a slow march, and afterward ran to the attack, but according to the same writer,

* *E. g.*, Xen. *Hellen.* II, 4, 17⁵¹; *Cyrop.* VII, 1, 9 and 25⁵².

† *E. g.*, Xen. *Anab.* I, 8, 18⁵³; V, 2, 14⁵⁴.

‡ Xen. *Anab.* VI, 5, 27⁵⁵; IV, 3, 29⁵⁰.

§ *Anab.* I, 8, 17⁵⁸; Diod. Sic. XIV, 23, 1⁵⁶.

this does not seem to have been the Greek practice (XIV, 23, 1). The paean is started by the general and immediately taken up by the soldiers, so that it serves as the signal for the advance.* On shipboard also the paean is the signal for advance against the enemy (Thuc. I, 50⁵⁸). Thus in case the attack is a surprise, it is the paean which serves to warn the enemy of the attack (Xen. *Hell.* IV, 2, 19⁶¹; Thuc. VII, 83⁵⁹).

The paean is followed at the moment of attack by the battle-cry ἐλελεῖ to Enyalios,† which may be given on the run. According to the scholiast on Thuc. I, 50 and IV, 43⁶⁰, the paean was raised to Ares (or Enyalios) before the battle and to Apollo after the conflict was over. In one passage (Xen. *Hell.* II, 4, 17⁶¹) the paean might naturally be identified with the invocation of Enyalios, but even here this interpretation is by no means necessary.

In view of the fact that the paean is so carefully distinguished from the war-cry to Enyalios (*e. g.*, Xen. *Anab.* I, 8, 17⁶²), I believe that the scholiast is wrong in saying that the *paean* is addressed to Enyalios. All the evidence that the paean was a sort of hymn or chant (Aisch. *Pers.* 389, 392,⁶¹ and the use of the word paean in other connections) favors this position. Enyalios (Enyo) is distinctively the god of the war-cry; the shouts to him are as appropriate as the paean would be inappropriate.

Starting from a passage in Plutarch (*Lycurg.* 21-22, 53 E⁶²) Schwalbe (p. 33) was led to the conclusion that the paean of the Spartans was quite different in character from the form of paean which is alluded to, *e. g.*, in Xenophon. According to this passage in Plutarch the Spartans first made a preliminary sacrifice to the Muses, then when the army came in sight of the enemy the general made a special sacrifice (σφάγια) of a goat, and "bade the soldiers all to put on crowns, and the flute-players to play the Καστόρειον μέλος; and at once he started the marching paean," so that the army presented an imposing and awe-inspiring sight as they marched quietly to the attack to the sound of the flute. In

* Xen. *Cyrop.* VII, 1, 9⁵² and 25-26; *Hell.* II, 4, 17⁵¹; ἐξάρχειν is the regular word for starting the paean.

† Xen. *Anab.* I, 8, 17⁵³; V, 2, 14⁵⁴; *Cyrop.* VII, 1, 25-26⁵².

this passage we have the sacrifice with prayer for success and the σφάγια to determine the right moment for the attack, as in the cases described by Xenophon. Instead of the wild attack with the war-cry, the Spartans (and perhaps other Dorian peoples, though the statement of Aulus Gellius⁶³ as to the Cretans sounds somewhat mythical) advanced quietly in regular order singing a particular hymn to the music of flutes. This hymn Plutarch calls the "marching paean," a phrase which occurs only in late writers. The passages in Thucydides (V, 70⁶⁴) and Xenophon (*Resp. Lac.* 13, 8⁶⁵) on which the account of Plutarch, as well as that of Gellius and Cicero⁶⁶, is apparently based, do not use the word παιάν to describe the Spartan hymn of attack; and it seems to me probable that Plutarch is using the word in a post-classical meaning. He describes the sacrifice and the σφάγια and the Spartan substitute for the attack with war-cry, but he omits the paean proper altogether. At any rate the Dorian paean of Thuc. VII, 44⁶⁷ is not the Καστόρειον μέλος. This passage is interesting as showing that the paean of the Dorian allies of the Athenians was enough like the paean of their Dorian adversaries to deceive the Athenians.

It is necessary to examine the evidence farther to gain a clear idea of the meaning and the form of the battle paean. It will appear later that the paean at the altar, at the symposion, and after a victory, was accompanied with libations. There is no reference to any libation in connection with the battle paean, but the libation or the sacrifice with accompanying prayer had taken place earlier. These were acts requiring leisure, while the paean was the signal for the attack when the omens had been found favorable. It is true that in Aischylos *Sept. Theb.*⁶⁸ we read

266 κάμῶν ἀκούσας' εὐγμάτων, ἔπειτα σὺ

ὀλολυγμὸν ἱρὸν εὐμενῇ παιάνισον,

Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,

270 θάρσος φίλοις, λύονσα πολέμιων φόβον.

This, however, is not the battle paean proper, but the chant of women at the sacrifice to the gods of the city; it is the *sacrificial*

shout (θυστάδος βοῆς) which emboldens friends and removes fear of the enemy ; yet no doubt the verb παιανίζειν is chosen here instead of another verb which would be equally in place, because the *battle* paean was the special source of strength to friends and fear to enemies. In other instances we read of the sacrificial cry of women, the ὀλολυγή, in connection with an attack. The frequent mention of εὐχαί as well as παιᾶνες probably means that the full supplication for success was something different from the paean just before the attack. That the paean was held to have great importance in determining the issue of the battle is evident, *e. g.*, from Aischyl. *Pers.* 389 f.⁶¹ ; its direct effect was to encourage those who joined in it and to inspire the enemy with terror (Xen. *Cyrop.* III, 3, 58⁶⁹). This effect, however, was due directly to the invocation, and not to any sacrifice connected with it.

In spite of the close connection of the paean with the worship of Apollo the question may be raised whether the battle paean was distinctly an invocation of Apollo. In the passage just cited (Xen. *Cyrop.* III, 3, 58⁶⁹) it was Zeus to whom Cyrus looked for aid, yet it is not said that the "customary paean" was raised to Zeus. The only evidence which I find on this point is indirect. Strabo quoting Ephoros (IX, p. 422⁷⁰), gives the origin of the παιανισμός before joining battle, as being an imitation of the cry of the men of Parnassos to Apollo when he attacked the Python. A similar explanation is suggested by Kallimachos⁷¹ and by Timotheos⁷². It is but a step farther to explain the cry as that of Leto to her son, ἰὲ παῖ "Shoot, boy" or ἰὲ παῖε "Shoot, strike." ^{73, 76, 81.} Certainly the myth implies a connection between the battle paean and Apollo at the time the myth originated.

In attempting to determine the form of the battle paean we start with the fact that the paean was ordinarily a hymn with the refrain ἰὲ παιάν ; and the passages which differentiate the war-cry from the paean, in particular Xen. *Anab.* VI, 5, 27⁶⁵, lead us to believe that the battle paean has the same character. Aischylos⁶¹ in his stirring description of the battle of Salamis tells us,

388 πρῶτον μὲν ἡχῇ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν ἠϋφήμησεν.

Fear fell on the barbarians

392

οὐ γὰρ ὥς φυγῇ

παιᾶν' ἐφύμνονν σεμνὸν Ἑλληνές τότε,

ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει,

σάλπιγξ δ' ἀντὶ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

The paean is distinctly called a stately majestic hymn; it is called a shout or cry (κέλαδος), but it is the cry of worship (εὐφήμησεν) and it is in the form of a chant (μολπηδόν). The word κελαδεῖν is used by Euripides (*Phoen.* 1102⁷⁴) to describe the sound of paeans and trumpets, and apparently it was not unusual for trumpets to sound in connection with paeans (Xen. *Anab.* V, 2, 14⁵⁴; VI, 5, 27⁵⁵), though I find no reason to think that this was part of the paean proper. In later times certainly the paean before battle, as it was still called, had no longer anything musical about it⁷⁶. And it is noticeable that the somewhat idealized description of Aischylos is the only clear statement that the battle chant had much of a musical character⁸⁰. The words αἰδεῖν, ἐπιμέλπειν, ἐπευφημεῖν, which are applied to other forms of the paean, are not used (outside this passage in Aischylos) with reference to the battle paean. On the other hand the verb παιανίζειν is rarely used except for the battle paean, and the noun παιανισμός⁷⁵ is limited to this particular use. I conclude that the battle paean was ideally a musical chant, but that in practice, while it remained a chant, it lost much of its musical character.*

*The statement of Bernhardt (*Griech. Litt.*³ II, i, 623) "Die Waffentänze der Kreter entwickelten eine neue Form des Paeans, den hellenischen Schlachtgesang" seems to me improbable, and I can find absolutely no evidence for it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAEAN A HYMN USED IN WORSHIP.

According to the grammarians the paean was originally a hymn used in the worship of Apollo, or of Apollo and Artemis; only later did it come to be used in the service of other gods. The intimate connection of this hymn with the worship of Apollo has already been mentioned, and an examination of the passages will make it perfectly evident. In Chapter II mention has already been made of the passage *Iliad* I, 472³¹;—after the sacrifice the Achaian youths were propitiating Apollo all the day long, singing beautiful paeans and dancing, greatly to the god's delight. After the sacrificial meal was completed, this paean was sung by a chorus of youths about the altar, and probably the dance formed a part of the paean itself; the worship consisted first of the sacrifice proper, and then of the paean,—worship which in this case was intended to obtain relief from pestilence.

1. The paean as used at Delphi.

The next passage alluding to the use of the paean in worship is in the Homeric hymn to Apollo. In line 272³² the dative *ἱηπαιήωνι* is usually taken as the indirect object of the verb, and the word is interpreted as a name for Apollo. This seems to me very doubtful, not only because the name was not usually applied to Apollo until a much later date, but also because the use of any such epithet of the person addressed, followed immediately by the second person of the pronoun, is too artificial for the simple style of the hymn. The word is rather to be understood as giving an accompaniment of the sacrifice that is being described, and it is to be taken in the same meaning as in the later passages of the hymn³³. After the sacrificial meal (v. 513) Apollo leads the procession to Delphi in stately manner. He plays the cithara, and the Cretans follow singing the *ἱηπαιήων* "like the paeans of the Cretans in whose breasts the divine Muse puts sweet song." Here, as before, the paean is the worship that follows the sacrifice proper;

and in this instance it is sung by a chorus as a processional hymn, accompanied by the cithara of the chorus leader. This procession was postulated as the type of the later processions which brought votive gifts and sacrifices to the Delphic shrine. As the choruses in later time sang paeans to the accompaniment of the cithara in these processions, so the god is thought of as leading the chorus in the paean when the worship was instituted. "Thou (Apollo) dost shout aloud, singing paeans to the cithara" (Eurip. *Ion*, 906⁸⁸) may be an allusion to the same practice.

A most important part of the Pythian games was the musical agon. According to Strabo (IX, 3, 10⁸⁵) the ancient contest was between singers accompanied by the cithara, who sang a paean to the god (cf. Paus. X, 7, 2). Contests between singers accompanied by the flute were added later by the Amphiktyones (Plut. *Quaes. Conv.* II, 4, 638 C.) ; these songs with the flute were strictly called *vómoi* rather than paeans, but their theme was the same as that of the paean. In each case it was the sacred legend of Delphi, the story of the god's coming, of his conflict with the serpent, and his relation to the earlier possessors of the oracle, of the establishment of the oracle, from which the poet drew the material of his song. Parts of the Homeric hymn to Apollo (vv. 353-369), Kallim. *Hymn. Apoll.* 97-104⁷¹, and Apoll. Rhod. II, 701-713⁸⁴, show how the theme was treated.

The last passage, Apoll. Rhod. II, 701-713, is a direct literary imitation of these Delphic hymns. It is sung by a chorus after a feast, and the leader plays the cithara in accompaniment. The hymn describes the conflict with the monster and its successful issue, and it has the refrain (v. 702) which gives it its name. This passage in Apollonios also seems to refer to the dramatic representation of the conflict between Apollo and the serpent in the Delphic sacred drama*. The rock on which Leto stood, which later was dedicated as a memorial of the conquest, and the cry of Leto echoed by a chorus of Korykian nymphs which later became the war-cry, were familiar to the reader from this drama.

* Cf. Athen. 701 D ; Ephoros in Strabo, IX, 3, 12.

The description of Ephoros, however, shows that in the later drama of the Seperion, Apollo was represented not as a child but as a full grown man, responsible for his deeds; he also records the cry $\xi \Piαιάν$ as given by the inhabitants of Parnassos.

As to the paean at Delphi we have seen (1) that it was used as the accompaniment of sacred processions which bore some resemblance to the procession described in the Homeric hymn, processions bringing gifts and offerings to this shrine, (2) that the name is applied to hymns used in musical contests, probably hymns sung by a chorus to the accompaniment of the cithara, and (3) that the paean refrain was used in connection with the Delphic sacred drama⁸⁶. We may naturally infer that a paean like that which Apollo is said to have invented for the original victory, was sung on the occasion of the dramatic celebration of this victory⁸⁶. The paean of Tynnichos, which was directly inspired by the god, and which had the sacredness of an archaic statue (Porph. *de abstin.* II, 18⁸⁹), may have been a paean of this last class.

The literary examples of hymns to Apollo of Delphi no doubt give us the theme of the paean as sung there, and some clue to the way this theme was treated. The discovery at Delphi of the paean of Aristonoos and of two other hymns that perhaps are rightly called paeans, raises a new question, viz., whether we have preserved to us paeans that were actually used in the worship at Delphi. The detailed discussion of these hymns I shall reserve for an appendix; here I shall only call attention to their general character and to their place in the Delphic worship.

(a). The Paean of Aristonoos.

After a decree of the Delphians honoring Aristonoos "because he wrote hymns to the gods", we read "Aristonoos of Corinth the son of Nikosthenes wrote this hymn to Apollo Pythias" and the hymn itself follows. The hymn consists of six double Glyconic stanzas, and in every case the first strophe ends with the refrain $\eta \eta \Piαιάν$ and the second with the refrain $\phi \eta \Piαιάν$. The use of this refrain places beyond question the name of *paean* for this hymn. The content of the successive strophes is as follows:—

I Invocation of Apollo, II the giver of oracles; III the purified Apollo is conducted back from Tempe to Delphi by Athena, IV who therefore receives due honors at Delphi, V and Apollo receives gifts from each of the gods at Delphi; VI concluding prayer for blessing.

The subject of the paean—the return of Apollo to Delphi after his purification—has suggested both to the French* and to the German editor that it was sung “to salute the procession which escorted back the purified god.” The reference to the laurel in II and the emphatic position of *ἀγνισθείς* in III both confirm the belief that it is to be connected with the *δαφνηφορία*.

In the absence of any indication as to how the paean was to be sung, we may suppose that it was rendered by a chorus, accompanied by the cithara.

(b). First hymn with musical notes.

Outline. 1 f. Invocation of the Muses to hymn Phoibos, who comes to the Castalian spring at Delphi. 11 f. Attika is present at the sacrifice; thighs of bulls burn on the altar and with the smoke rise clouds of incense; melodies come from the flute, and the cithara accompanies the hymns; the whole body of Attic youths (join in the song and the dance). 19 f. The son of Zeus appears. Thee and thy victory over the serpent we celebrate in song. And the barbarian horde was overcome by thy might. Hail! for thou didst stand before the enemy and destroy the plague of this people.

The metre and other questions which arise in connection with this hymn will be discussed in the appendix. The vivid description of a sacrifice in progress marks it as an altar hymn to Apollo, a paean in the sense of *Iliad*, I, 473. After the invocation and the description of the occasion when it was sung, comes the myth and its application to present events, and no doubt the hymn was concluded by a prayer.

(c). Second hymn with musical notes.

Outline. 1 f. Invocation of the Muses to hymn Phoibos whom

* Bull. Corr. Hell. 1893, p. 567.

Leto bore at the sacred lake. 9f. Sky and sea were in harmony with the great event. 14f. Journey through Attica where the worship of Paian was established. 22f. The foundations of the temple laid, the serpent slain, and later the barbarians repulsed. 35f. Concluding prayer for Athens and Delphi, for the Dionysiac chorus (who sing this hymn), and for the Romans.

The structure of this hymn is very like that of the one considered before, with the addition that here the concluding prayer is preserved. Apparently this also was an altar hymn, and it was sung by a chorus of Dionysiac musicians from Athens. The phrase *ἐν Παίαν* does not appear as a refrain in the hymn, but the reference to the worship of Paian shows the intimate connection of this hymn with the paean proper. This hymn like the preceding describes the arrival of the god at Delphi and his conflict with the dragon, but here the account of his birth is prefixed. The likeness of the two hymns is a striking example of the manner in which the same material was worked over by different hands with relatively little change.

Two questions arise as to these hymns, viz., Were they paeans properly so called, and were they actually used in worship? An inscription found at Delphi* states that Kleochares the Athenian was honored because he wrote *ποθόδιον καὶ παιᾶνα καὶ ὕμνον* to be sung by a chorus of boys at the Theoxenia. In the case of the hymns before us, the choice lies between the two latter names, and I incline to the name paean in spite of the absence of the refrain *ἐν Παίαν*, (a) because they were sung by a chorus as altar hymns like one form of paean, while the *ὕμνος* of this inscription was probably a *νόμος*, sung by a single voice; and (b) because Apollo is invoked as Paieon in the second hymn.

The question still remains whether either the paean of Aristonoo or the other hymns are to be regarded as hymns actually used in worship, or as hymns prepared for the musical *ἀγῶνες* at Delphi and transcribed on stone because they were so highly esteemed. The question does not seem to me to have great im-

* Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 71⁸⁷.

portance, for beyond a doubt these hymns represent very closely the type of hymns used in worship. As to the paean, this is proved by its general style, by the invocation of the god, by the topic, viz., the return of the purified god, and by the refrain which at least stands for the cries of the worshippers. As to the hymns, the metre, the fact that they are cast in a set mould, and their preëminently religious character, would lead to the conclusion that they also represent a type of worship hymn. According to the inscription (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 71), both the paean and the hymn of Kleocharēs were used in worship at the festival of the Theoxenia.

In connection with the use of the paean at Delphi, the paean to Krateros of Macedon must be mentioned. This is cited by Athen. 696 E, in a list of paeans sung to men, and he adds that this one "is sung at Delphi, a boy playing the lyre." I see no reason to think that this was different from the hymns of praise to men in connection with which Athenaios mentions it (discussed under Chap. VIII, The Paean of Victory).

In the opening parodos of Euripides's *Ion*,⁹⁰ the poet puts a song in the mouth of Ion with the refrain

ὦ Παιᾶν, ὦ Παιᾶν,
εὐαίων, εὐαίων
εἴης, ὦ Δαρῶς παῖ.

The strophe is addressed to the sacred laurel with which Ion cleanses the temple; the antistrophe to Phoibos, expressing the joy of Ion in the god's service. In the ode to sleep, Soph. *Phil.* 828 f., the same word εὐαίων occurs in the invocation, which closes with the words ἴθι ἴθι μοι παιών¹⁵. It is probable that in these passages there is a suggestion of some familiar prayer-hymn with paean refrain, but whether the hymn should really be associated with the worship at Delphi is not quite clear. And yet this probability is much strengthened by the recurrence of a similar refrain in the Delphic paean to Dionysos discussed below.

2. The paean in the worship of Apollo at Delos.

The scholia on Pindar, *Isthm.* I, p. 516⁸⁸, explain the allusion

Isthm. I, 3-4, by the fact that the inhabitants of Kos had engaged Pindar to write a "Delian paean," or according to another scholion, a "prosodiac paean . . . a Delian poem." This passage suggests the conclusion that the Delian prosodiac hymns were called paeans. As processional hymns they would come under the same class as those Delphic paeans of which the Homeric Hymn furnishes an example.

Eur. Herc. Fur. 687-690⁹¹. "Delian women hymn the paean about the doors (of the temple?), swaying in the beautiful dance in honor of the fair offspring of Leto." According to this representation the paean is sung at Delos by a chorus of women as they dance before the temple; the hymn and the feast have reference to Apollo, the son of Leto, and very likely commemorate the birth of Apollo. The scholion on *Apoll. Rhod.* I, 537, explains the "chorus to Apollo in Ortygia" as an allusion to the worship in Delos. Here, as at Delphi and at the Ismenian shrine, choruses about the altar dance to the music of the cithara. The hymn accompanying the dance would be called a paean after the analogy of *Iliad*, I, 472. Athenaios also refers to a dance about the Delian temple, in this instance by Athenians high in the state. And according to Lucian (*de salt.* § 16) choruses dance at the sacrifices to flute and cithara, and the best chorus is selected in a competition.

3. The paean in the worship of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes.

Both the passage in Euripides and the Apollonios scholion connect the paean worship of Apollo at Delos and at Thebes. The passage in Euripides (*Herc. Fur.* 685-700⁹¹) is part of an ode sung by the old men of Thebes with reference to old age. They will still sing and dance to Mnemosyne, Herakles, Bromios (678-686). Delian women sing the paean and dance to Apollo (686-690); "and paeans in thy halls, like a swan, old man as I am, I will sing with aged lips; for the son of Zeus is present with favor to hear the hymns, and he has made life as a calm sea for mortals by destroying the fear of monsters" (691-700). The paean is here a hymn sung by a chorus of old men and apparently accompanied with the dance; Apollo is present with favor; the

theme of the hymn is the praise of Apollo (κλέος) for killing "monsters" (*i. e.*, the Python at Delphi).

4. The paean in the worship of Apollo at Sparta.

Xen. *Hell.* IV, 5, 11⁹⁴: "The Amyklaians are always wont to go to the Hyakinthia for the paean." Ages. II, 17⁹⁵: "Agesilaos went back home to the Hyakinthia, to the position to which he was appointed by the chorus master, and joined in performing the paean in honor of the god." These passages indicate that the paean was a very important part of the Spartan festival to Apollo called Hyakinthia, that it was a hymn performed by set choruses, and that the highest men in the service of the state took part in these choruses. Athen. IV, 139 C⁹⁶, quotes Didymos, who in turn quotes Polykrates as saying in his *Lakonika* that for three days the Lakonians "perform sacrifices to Hyakinthos, and on account of their grief for him they wear no crowns . . . and do not sing the paean to the god, nor introduce any other practice such as characterizes other festivals." After these three days the character of the festival entirely changes. "Boys play the cithara . . . and singing to the flute, striking the chords in anapaestic rhythm . . . they hymn the god; other choruses of youths go to the theatre in array on horseback, and sing one of the hymns that are peculiar to the country, and dancers mingling with them perform an ancient dance to the flute and song." This grand festal procession with its various choruses is probably the "paean" to which Xenophon twice refers. Certainly the paean is part of the glad festival of joy; and if I am correct in interpreting the statement of Xenophon as meaning by the paean the central feature of the Hyakinthia, it is a hymn or series of hymns sung by choruses in a great procession; flute-music, cithara-music, and dancing accompany the hymns in the procession.* Apparently this is a procession to the altar where they are to perform the *ιερεία παμπληθῇ* in contrast with the peculiar, limited sacrifices to Hyakinthos⁹⁷. Thus interpreted the paean at the Hyakinthia corresponds to the processional paean at Delphi which is idealized in the Homeric hymn.

* Xenophon alludes (*Anab.* VI, 1, 11⁹⁸) to the paean and dance as used in connection with processions to the gods.

The paean was also sung at the Spartan festival of the Gymnopaïdai. According to Athen. XV, 678 C⁹⁹, three choruses, of boys, youths, and men respectively, dance naked and sing hymns of Thaletas (called paeans, Strabo, X, 4, 16¹⁰⁰) and of Alkman, and paeans of Dionysodotos the Lakonian. Pausanias (III, 11, 9) writes that in the market place at Sparta are statues of Apollo Pythaëus and Artemis and Leto; and the whole region is called Choros because at the Gymnopaïdai, which the Lakedaimonians celebrate with greatest zeal, the epheboi here institute choruses to Apollo. According to Suidas (*s. v.* Γυμνοπαῖδα¹⁰¹) the choruses of boys at this feast commemorate the Spartans that fell at Thyrea. According to *Etym. Mag.* 243, 3,¹⁰² at this festival naked boys sing paeans to Apollo for those that fell at Pylaea (Cdd. PMD, Θυραίων). The paean is the characteristic name for the hymn to Apollo at the Gymnopaïdai; it is sung by choruses, and apparently was accompanied by a sort of dance.*

According to the curious notice in Hesychios (*s. v.* Γυμνοπαῖδα), it is not true that the epheboi run about the altar in Amyklai at this feast and strike each other's backs, but the feast is in the agora and there are no blows but only πρόσοδοι χορῶν γεγυμνωμένων. Hesychios must have had some reason for denying the practice at Amyklai, and from his denial of it we may infer that some earlier writer asserted it. The second part of Hesychios's statement we have no reason to question;—the festival at Sparta itself consisted of a dignified procession of choruses which executed dances naked. It remains to be explained why those who fell at Thyrea (and at Thermopylai?) should be especially honored at this festival, for clearly it was not instituted in their honor. The most natural explanation is that the festival had originally a martial character. This would explain the interest and the zeal of the Spartans in it. The statement of Hesychios is probably to be referred to an earlier type of festival which was celebrated at Amyklai,—and never transferred in that form to Sparta. At Amyklai, if I interpret rightly the

* δρχησις was an all-important part of the festival. Lucian, *de salt.* § 12⁷⁵; Athen. XIV, 631 B.

statement of Hesychios, those who took part in the chorus were not naked (possibly they were in full armor); the festival consisted of a sort of wild war-dance around the altar. The old war-festival, transferred to Sparta, would be celebrated in a more civilized manner; moreover it was directed in the interest of the state, and not simply in the interest of the old religion. With the introduction of the practice of gymnastic exercises without clothing,* the dances commemorating the highest use of gymnastics—in war—were executed without clothing and became the *Γυμνοπαΐδαι*. In connection with this festival the brave deeds of Spartans in battle were celebrated and kept alive in the memory of the people. The name of Thaletas is associated with the reform of the *Gymnopaïdai* (Plut. *Mor.* 1134 C).†

5. Other cases of the paean in worship.

Apollo. According to the commentators the paean was properly a song to Apollo, or to Apollo and Artemis.‡ Athen. 628 A¹⁰⁵ defines hymns to Apollo as of this type. Most literary allusions associate the paean as a hymn to Apollo quite closely with one of the four great centres of Apollo worship that have been mentioned. Theognis, in a sort of hymn to Phoibos 773–782¹⁰⁶, says that he saved the city from the Medes, gratefully remembering Alkathoos (of Megara); and the people every spring bring glorious hecatombs in procession to him, delighting in the cithara, and in the lovely feast, and in choruses of paeans and shouts about the altar. The paean is here a hymn sung after the sacrificial feast (cf. *Iliad* I, 472) by a chorus; it is led by the cithara, and accompanied by a dance about the altar. The shouts *ἰαχαί* apparently refer to the refrain *ὦ Παιάν* which is taken up by others than the (trained) chorus. Most of the fragments of Pindar's paeans which remain to us are from paeans to Apollo, and some

* Aristoxenos, in Athen. 631 C, connects the gymnopaedic (gymnastic) and the Pyrrhic dance at Sparta.

† Cf. also the prosodiac paean performed by men in armor to music of the flute, Xen. *Anab.* VI, 1, 11⁹⁸.

‡ Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* III, 331, 21; Menander, *Rhet.* 1¹⁰³; Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* VI, 657¹⁰⁴, X 738.

myth connected with Apollo furnishes the theme. The paean of Timotheos⁷² is addressed to Apollo as Helios; and in Aristophanes¹³⁴ the paean is recognized as primarily a hymn to Apollo.

Artemis. Artemis is closely associated with the worship of Apollo at Delos, and any testimony that would connect the paean with the worship of Artemis would confirm the belief that the paean was a hymn used in Delian worship. The only allusions, however, to the paean in her worship are so general as to disappoint this expectation. Soph. *Trach.* 208¹²⁶: the chorus sings "Let the men's cry (κλαγγά) rise in unison to Apollo; sing the paean, the paean, to Ortygian (Delian) Artemis ..." Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1468¹⁰⁷: the chorus of maidens are urged to raise the paean to Artemis daughter of Leto in connection with the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. In a fragment of Pindar¹¹⁹ we read of paean songs to the children of Leto. Finally we have preserved in Diog. Laer. II, 42¹⁰⁸ a line from a paean attributed by some to Sokrates, in which both Apollo and Artemis are invoked. In literature the paean is transferred from the worship of Apollo to the worship of Artemis; there is not sufficient evidence to determine whether this was done in practice, but it is antecedently probable that at Delos Artemis was worshipped with the paean, if the paean was a part of the Apollo worship there.*

Asklepios and Hygieia. The fact that the word "paean" belongs rather with the song than with the god Apollo is shown by what I am inclined to regard as another offshoot of the use of the paean in Apollo-worship, viz., the use of the paean in the worship of Asklepios. The transfer was facilitated in this instance by the fact that the word *παιών* (*παιών*) never ceased to mean the "Healer"²⁸. That the paean was transferred from Apollo worship to Asklepios worship is indicated (1) by the fact that the paean in the fifth century was so distinctly a part of Apollo worship; (2) by the repeated mention of Apollo in Asklepios paeans,—

* Stengel, *Griech. Sakralalt.* p. 59, calls the paean "ursprünglich ein dem Apollon und der Artemis heiliges Lied". It seems to me clear, however, that the connection with Artemis is quite secondary, in spite of Proklos (Phot. *Lex.* 985) and *Elym. Magn.* 657, 5.

the Isyllos paean is to Apollo as much as to Asklepios; and (3) by the close mythical connection of Apollo (the healer) with Asklepios.

The paean of Isyllos ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885, 65; Blass, Jahrb. f. Philol. 1885, 822 ff; Wilamowitz, *Philol. Untersuchungen*, IX).^{*} This paean is preceded by a series of inscriptions including a brief hymn to Apollo, and ending with a prose notice that Isyllos had inquired at Delphi concerning the paean, whether it would be advantageous for him to inscribe it on a stele, and the question had been answered affirmatively. The paean begins 'Ιεπαιῶνα θεὸν αἰέσατε λαοί, "Hymn the god 'Ιεπαιάν, ye inhabitants of Ἐπίδαυρος", and gives the genealogy of Κορωνίς (Αἴγλη), the marriage with Apollo, and the birth of Asklepios in the sacred temenos. Apollo calls the son Asklepios, and indicates his function. The hymn ends with an invocation of Asklepios, preceded and followed by the cry ἱὲ παιάν, ἱὲ παιάν. This paean is followed by a hymn to Asklepios.

This paean in ionics is interpreted by Wilamowitz and Baunack as a processional for the festival that is to be instituted according to the second part of the inscription. Wilamowitz concludes (Append. III) that Isyllos used the metre of the fourth century Attic dithyramb without realizing its unfitness for such a cultus-hymn. The hymn resembles the Apollo paeans in that its subject is the legend of the god, in that it uses the paean refrain—though not to mark the strophes,—and finally in that it was sung by a chorus in connection with a religious procession (πομπή). The date is early in the third century.

Paean of "Makedon": C.I.A. III, 171 b, p. 489¹¹⁴. This bears a considerable resemblance to the paean of Isyllos, and its composition may perhaps be assigned to the same period (though the inscription is somewhat later). So far as the contents can be made out, it begins, as did the paean last considered, with a summons to the κοῦροι Ἀθηνῶν bidding them to honor the god,—here

^{*}This paean, as well as those alluded to in the following paragraphs, is reprinted in Appendix I, § 2.

Apollo of Delos. In the procession for which the hymn was written, men carry in their hands suppliant boughs, bright offshoot of the olive. Then the hymn changes to the celebration of Asklepios, glorious, kindly, healer of disease. His art is accredited to Cheiron, his mother is Koronis, his sons and daughters are named, with especial emphasis on Hygieia. The hymn closes with an invocation of Asklepios, praying for the health of those who join in singing the hymn, for the safety of Athens (*Ἀθῆναις*) and for the favor of Asklepios in keeping away disease.

Most of the lines of the hymn have lost the end. Of those that are complete, as the hymn stands written on the stone, three end with *ἰὴ Παιάν* and the last two with *ἰὲ Παιάν*; two lines, apparently complete, lack this refrain. The general outline is:—I Call to worship, II myth, III invocation; but where Isyllos describes the genealogy of Asklepios, Makedon alludes to his own father and his teacher, and then gives a full list of his family. The hymn is written for a procession or processional dance, and is sung by a chorus of youths.

Paean: C.I.A. III, 171c, p. 490¹¹⁴; Ziebarth, *Comm. Philol.* p. 189; Rhein. Mus. 1894, p. 315. A paean very similar to the last, which was used in the worship of Asklepios at Athens, exists in two copies; less than a quarter of it was found on a stone in Attika (letters of the Roman period), and this has been completed from an Egyptian copy (*circa* 100 A.D.). This hymn, like the preceding, begins with a summons to worship Apollo: "Hymn Paian, ye youths, the son of Leto, Hekatos, noted for his wisdom," and goes on directly to mention the birth and lineage of Asklepios. Next follows the family of Asklepios, with the same emphasis on Hygieia as before, and the hymn concludes with an elaborate invocation, praying that Asklepios come to the city and be propitious, and that the singers may have long life and good health. The hymn is divided into three parts by the refrain *ἰὴ Παιάν*, *Ἀσκληπιόν, δαίμονα κλεινότατον* (the third time *σεμνότατε*), *ἰὲ Παιάν*. The first time this refrain is part of the construction, the second and third times it is a simple refrain in the vocative. The second strophe is interrupted by the refrain *ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν*, the third by the refrain *ἰὲ ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν*.

This also is a hymn for a chorus of youths, and doubtless was accompanied by a sort of dance.

Hymns on the Cassel stone: C.I.A. III, 171¹¹⁴; inscription dated by Boeckh about 200 A.D. The first of the three hymns is a morning-hymn to Παίων Ἀσκληπιός to be sung by the priests (v. 4). It calls the god to awake and receive the hymn of those who with joy propitiate his might (which is Hygieia). The second hymn to Hygieia has a special interest because it is quoted in Athen. XV, 702 A¹¹⁵, as a *paean* by Eriphron of Sikyon. This paean consists of a wish expressed to Hygieia that the poet may dwell with her all his life, and she with him; for all mortal blessings, wealth, family, political power, delights of love, every joy and all repose come in company with Hygieia, and apart from her no one is fortunate. There is no direct indication that this was a *cultus* hymn, yet its place on the stone makes it probable that it was so used. The word Paian occurs as a name for Asklepios, the father of Telesphoros, but the refrain ἢ Παῖάν does not occur. The hymn in hexameters to Telesphoros is probably of about the same date as the inscription (200 A.D.), and was used in the new worship of Telesphoros (vv. 30-33).*

Athena. According to a late writer (Heliod. *Ethiop.* I, 10¹¹¹) the epheboi are represented as singing a paean to Athena in connection with the Panathenaic procession.

Dionysos. Dionysos was closely associated with the worship of Apollo at Delphi; both shared the same temple, and one yielded to the other for a definite part of each year; but it is only from the new Delphic paean to Dionysos† that we know how close this association was. This hymn which is called a paean in the inscription, consists of twelve strophes, of which three are almost entirely lost and others are mutilated. The date is the last third of the fourth century B.C.; *i. e.*, on epigraphic grounds this paean is known to be considerably older than the hymns to Apollo that were discovered a little earlier.

* An inscription from the Peiraeus (Bull. Corr. Hell. XIV, 649¹¹⁶) refers to an organization of singers who perform the paean in one particular cult of Asklepios.

† Appendix II; Bull. Corr. Hell. 1895, 393 ff.

Outline. I Invocation of Bacchos, joy at his birth; II Bacchic revel fills the land, Dionysos shows himself on Parnassos; III he goes to Eleusis and receives honor at the mysteries; IV (Mysteries at Eleusis?); V he visits the cities of Thessaly, and the Pierian shrine on Mt. Olympos, where Apollo leads the chorus of the Muses in saluting him with the cry "Glorious Paian". IX Command of the oracle to complete certain works, to perform this hymn, and to announce sacrifices to Dionysos; X description of the glory of the new temple; XI sacrifices and dances to Bacchos at the Pythian games; an image of Bacchos on golden lions to be set up. XII Receive Dionysos, let ivy-crowned choruses invoke him. . . .

The structure of this paean closely resembles the paeans to Apollo, although the language is simpler. The hymn not merely has the paean refrain, but, so far as the limited material permits any conclusion, it is more closely related to other paeans than to the dithyramb of Dionysos. The first part of each stanza ends with the refrain,

Εὔοι ἰὸ Βάκχ'
ὦ ἱὲ Παιάν,

and the second part with the refrain,

Ἴὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ,
εὐφρων τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ'
εὔαιώνι σὺν ὄλβῳ.

I have called attention above to the refrain in Euripides's Ion which seems to have been taken from the Delphic worship. That this hymn was written to be accompanied with the dance, can hardly be questioned (cf. strophe V). That it was written for worship and was actually used in worship, is proved by the fact that the poet is made the mouthpiece of the Delphic oracle in strophes IX-XI.

The use of the paean in the worship of Dionysos, and the complete transfer of the title "Paian" as well as of the hymn to the companion of Apollo at Delphi, are exceedingly interesting. Here it is Apollo who leads the chorus of the Muses, addressing Dionysos

as *Παιᾶν' εὐκλέα*. So closely are Apollo and Dionysos associated that the orders of the Pythia are actually published in the paeon to Dionysos. The fact that the worship at Delphi is one and continuous, is more important than the fact that it is offered to different gods. Moreover it is evident that "Paian" is not merely an epithet of Apollo; the word is associated more closely with the song than with Apollo, and with the transfer of the song to Dionysos the *ἐπὶ κλησις* is also transferred. Perhaps Arist. *Equit.* 408¹³⁴ is an allusion to the use of the paeon in the worship of Dionysos, but I am inclined to regard the Delphic use of the paeon *εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον* as entirely due to the close association of Dionysos with Apollo in the local worship at Delphi.

Pan. According to the *Life* prefixed to the manuscripts of Pindar¹¹⁰ Pan is said to have sung and danced a paeon of Pindar, probably a paeon to Apollo, but there is no suggestion of a paeon in the worship of Pan.*

Poseidon. Xen. *Hell.* IV, 7, 4¹⁰⁹. A company at a banquet have reached the time for the libation and the symposiac paeon, when an earthquake is felt; accordingly the paeon is sung to Poseidon. This passage does not prove that the paeon was part of the worship of Poseidon; rather the symposiac paeon-prayer was sung to him in a particular instance because of the tokens of his presence.

Zeus. One fragment of a paeon by Pindar (Bergk, 57) is addressed to Zeus of Dodona, and one or two other fragments would be appropriate in paeans to Zeus.

6. The paeon in the literary account of sacrifice.

The very first mention of the paeon in Homer occurs in a somewhat generalized account of sacrifice, here a sacrifice to Apollo. In later literature the word is frequently used in a very general sense, hardly more definite than the word *ὕμνος*. Even the paeon refrain loses its particular cultus meaning. In Aristophanes^{113, 134} the refrain *ἰήμε παιᾶν* is the regular ending for the hymn-prayer, and it has no particular reference to the god to whom the prayer

* Cf. Ulrici, *Hellen. Dichtkunst*, II, 547.

is addressed. That is to say, at the end of the fifth century B. C. allusions to the paean refrain as a generalized "Amen" occurred in the theatre at Athens. In a late inscription, C.I.A. III, 5¹¹⁷, we read that the procession carrying the *sacra* from Athens to Eleusis is to perform sacrifices and libations and paeans along the way. In Plutarch, *Mor.* 406 C¹¹⁸, the paean is simply a hymn of worship accompanied by the cithara; so in Athen. 626 B¹²², and in Polyb. IV, 20, 8¹²³, as in Plato, *Symp.* 177 A^{123a}, and Eurip. *Cycl.* 664¹²⁴, the paean is used in the most general meaning of a hymn to some god.

In another series of passages (Plut. *Mor.* 713 A; *Lives*, 812 A¹¹⁹, 1051 E¹²⁰; Aristid. 505, 15¹²⁴), crowns worn by the worshippers and libations are mentioned as accompanying the paean. These passages are explained by comparison with, *e. g.*, *Iliad*, I, 472³¹, and Theogn. 773-782¹⁰⁶. Properly the paean meant the worship which followed the sacrifice; and the accompaniment of wreaths and libations continued, at least in literary references to the paean, when its connection with sacrifice was no longer important in the mind of the writer. The transition from the paean with libation after a sacrifice, to the paean with libation after a feast in connection with a symposion, shows no break.

Several passages in tragedy where the meaning of the word is not quite plain, I have left until the conclusion of the previous discussion :

Aisch. *Choeph.* 342¹²⁵. The paean which is to replace the *θρήνοι* at the tomb of Agamemnon and greet Orestes in the royal halls, can hardly be said to have any close connection with the original meaning of the word *παιάν* ("healing song"). In Soph. *Trach.* 210¹²⁶, the paean is a song to Apollo and Artemis in gratitude for good news of the return of Herakles. The Delphic paean of Aristonoos (composed 150 years later) is a song to greet the purified Apollo as he is escorted back from Tempe. Can we interpret the passages in Aischylos and Sophokles as allusions to the paean by which Apollo was greeted—long before the time of Aristonoos—when his return to Delphi was celebrated? The idea of Apollo's return to Delphi is so intimately connected with that

worship that this interpretation is suggested. In any case the allusion of Aischylos is not to the paean to avert present or future calamity, but to the paean as the song used at the glad religious festival.

In the passage from Aischylos and in Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 179-185¹²⁷ (songs which Hades sings that are not paeans) the paean is sharply contrasted with the *θρῆνοι*, paeans of hope and joy with dirges of lamentation. This contrast gives the standpoint from which must be interpreted the series of passages in Aischylos and Euripides that connect the paean with mourning.

Aisch. *Choeph.* 151¹²⁹. After Elektra's prayer to her father for the return of Orestes, she pours out the libation that goes with her prayers (149) and says to the chorus,

150 ὅμῳ δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος,
παῖνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξανδωμένας.

The paean with the name of a divinity always refers, I believe, to the paean used in worship. Here the combination with the prayer and libation of Elektra makes it certain that the paean meant is the paean used in worship. Yet the use of *κωκυτοῖς* in the previous line marks an important difference from the ordinary paean used in worship, nor would the paean naturally be used in worship of the dead. So I understand the passage to mean "Utter the paean-cry in response to my prayer to the dead, a paean-cry that in this instance is indeed a wail of mourning." The allusion is not to the fact that the prayer cannot be granted—for in this instance it can be,—but to the fact that in this case the cry of mourning is the natural response, instead of the cry of supplication.

Eurip. *Alc.* 423¹³⁰. The scholiast on the passage just considered calls attention to the command of Admetos; "Abide (while the body is carried out for burial) and raise the responsive cry, a paean to the god below who receives no libation." The clue to the interpretation of this passage is found in the close association of the paean in worship with the libation. This has already been noted, C.I.A. III, 5¹¹⁷, and will be considered

below in connection with the occasion of the worship paean, and again in connection with the symposiac paean. The god who receives no libation is the god to whom no paean prayer can be addressed with any hope of fulfilment. The passage means "Raise the responsive cry, a worship-song to the god who receives no worship, a relief-song, but the god never sends relief." At the same time the audience could not but interpret the passage with reference to the relief that came so unexpectedly to Admetos.

Aisch. *Frag.* 156¹³¹. Much the same thought is expressed with greater fulness and clearness: "Thanatos alone cares not for gifts, nor yet couldst thou soothe him with sacrifice and libation; he has no altar, nor are songs of worship raised to him." The paean is a song of worship; it is not sung to Thanatos, because he receives no worship of any kind; in the calamity of death, no song for relief is in order.

Agam. 644¹³², *Sept.* 867¹³³. These difficult passages must be interpreted in the light of the passages that have just been considered. In the first place it must be remembered that the name of the divinity marks the paean as used in worship at the feasts of particular gods. Accordingly if for no other reason, I should reject the interpretation "song of praise and joy"; in opposition to Schwalbe, I hold that this is a late and derived meaning of *παῖον*. It would be possible to translate *Agam.* 644, "the paean to soothe, or quiet the Erinyes" if the passage stood by itself; but the translation would not apply to "Αἶδον σ' ἐχθρὸν παῖᾱνα for two reasons:—the paean does not soothe Hades, and if it did, it would be anything but ἐχθρός.* Nor can we accept the translation "mourning chant"; for though the allusion is certainly to mourning, *παῖον* as certainly does not mean mourning chant. "Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ παῖον αἰεὶ ἀγαθοῖς (Schol.) ; the paean is a song used in worship and to obtain relief. *Sept.* 867, means "to sing the worship-song of Hades that is hated because it is no true worship-song and can bring no relief". The contrast between cries in mourning and the hymn in worship is brought out vividly by the bold oxymoron.

*Cf. Bode, *Hellen. Dichtkunst*, II, 20.

Similarly *Agam.* 644, "in such calamity it is fitting to utter this song of worship to the Erinyes who are not to be worshipped; a song for relief where no relief can be expected",—*i. e.*, a cry not of mourning (cf. Wecklein's note) but of despair is indicated by the oxymoron. Possibly *Soph. Frag.* 469 should be placed here, and translated "cliffs where hymns of worship are rather cries of despair."

Eurip. *Troad.* 126¹⁸⁶. The fleet of Greek ships on the way to Troy is compared to the sacred procession at a feast that advances to sound of songs accompanied by flutes, and to the sweet tones of the cithara; in the case of the Greek ships, however, the scene has no joy for the Trojan women, and the paean, the processional hymn of worship to the music of flute and cithara, in this case is *στύγνῳ*.

Troad. 578¹⁸⁶. "Why dost thou moan this paean of my woes and my misfortune?" The context shows that the paean intended is not a healing song, for it consists simply of exclamations of grief, such as *ᾄμοι*. The passage can only be understood on the supposition that the use of the paean by oxymoron for wails of grief had been so frequent in Greek tragedy that the word could actually be used to mean a mourning song. The cries *ᾄμοι*, *αἰαῖ*, *φεῦ*, call forth the question "Why dost thou moan, uttering what is no glad song of worship, a paean that is no paean since the refrain is *ᾄμοι*?"

Hel. 177¹⁸⁷. If *παῖνας* is retained in text, the meaning the is same as in *Troad.* 578.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE FORM OF THE PAEAN USED IN WORSHIP.*

We have no data for determining the form of the original paean which was used as a healing song, and we have seen that the data for obtaining a definite conception of the battle paean are very few. In the one example of a paean prayer in time of need (Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1403 f.) which remains in full, the prayer itself was uttered by a single voice and the companions of Iphigeneia utter the refrain in a chorus. The examples of the paean used in worship which appear in Aristophanes suggest a similar form, but the paeans which remain to us in whole or in part suggest a more elaborate poetic form.

1. The literary structure of the paean.

From the standpoint of language the structure of the later paean seems to have been the result of two influences. It was primarily a hymn sung to the god to express worship of the god and desire for the god's blessing. With the development of a religious lyric of complicated structure performed with an elaborate choral dance, the paean naturally came to share the characteristics which marked the religious hymn-prayer. The paean of Aristonoos shows these characteristics in an almost exaggerated degree. The heaping up of epithets, the coining of new adjectives to make the diction more intense and more vivid, the multiplication of dependent clauses, especially participial clauses, and the hesitation with which the thought is brought to expression in a principal verb,—these marks of the religious lyric are suggested by a study of the paeans found at Delphi. Another set of influences that helped to shape the later paean, was due to the musical contests at Delphi, in which hymns to the god were sung to the accompaniment of the cithara. These hymns in

* Cf. Schwalbe, p. 12 f.; the reader is also referred to the extant paeans and fragments of paeans which are printed in the appendixes.

Delphic contests apparently were not choral. They resembled the paean, however, (a) in the use of the cithara, (b) in their theme,—the deeds of Apollo, and (c) in their end,—the glorification of Apollo. Perhaps we should not go astray in assuming that the Homeric hymn to Apollo, or some part of that hymn, is the best illustration we can get of the hymns that were executed in the early musical agon here. The two hymns to Apollo found at Delphi, and such a paean as that of Isyllos, show the influence of this style of composition on the later religious paean. The invocation is limited to the beginning and the end, while the intervening part tells some story of the god with considerable freedom of language.

What the early paean was we cannot tell, but we may think that it was less formal in character and more simple; if it was accompanied by a choral dance, the form of the dance cannot have been so elaborate as in later times, nor was it so fixed by the rules of art. Whatever hymn there was must have been very simple, perhaps some epic recital glorifying the god, which was uttered by a single voice; and the paean proper no doubt consisted of a solemn processional dance of worshippers who uttered at stated intervals the characteristic refrain.

2. The metre of the paean.

With reference to the metre of the paean, Flach* reaches the conclusion that here, too, we may trace two influences, (a) the processional hymns to the accompaniment of the cithara with which men approached the sanctuary of the Ionic Apollo, as on the island of Delos, and (b) the Cretan dances in honor of the Cretan Zeus and the Cretan Apollo to the music of the flute. The Ionic processional dances were orderly and restrained; and when a hymn was composed to be used in connection with them, the dactylic measure was used. The Cretan dances at first were wild and orgiastic; when they were reduced to order by Olympos, the result was the use of the paeonic metre; and the hymns which Thaletas was the first to write for this choral dance, were in this paeonic metre.

* *Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik*, p. 266 f.

The facts for which such a theory must account are (a) that the paeans of Pindar and the lyric poets of classical times, and the paean-like lyrics of the drama use the dactylic or the dactylo-epitrite measure; (b) that the anapaest is found in a paean by Timotheos, and that it was most appropriate to the processional dance; and (c) that the paeonic is said to have been used for the paean by Thaletas, that it occurs in one fragment of a paean by Simonides (*Frag.* 26 B), and that it is found in the paeans recently discovered at Delphi. Probably the dactylic metre was used for the recitative part of the earliest paeans, and the paean proper consisted only of the refrain, accompanied it may be with some rhythmic motion. The use of this metre was in no way peculiar to the paean, or to the literary imitation of the paean. When the paean was a processional hymn, the anapaest was the most natural metre; in a fragment of Timotheos we have a single case in which the refrain of the paean occurs at the end of four anapaestic lines. The origin of the paeonic metre¹⁴² is consistently attributed by tradition to Crete, and its introduction into Greece is associated with the name of Thaletas¹³⁸. The phrase "Cretan paeans" in the Homeric hymn is in itself no proof that the paean was transferred directly from Crete to Delphi; it only means that there was a so-called paean dance at Delphi which reminded men of the dances of Crete. The tradition as to Thaletas is much more definite, although it is by no means free from contradictory features; and it justifies us in the conclusion that Thaletas and his pupils or followers, Xenodamas and Xenokritos, adapted a Cretan practice for use in the Greek worship of Apollo. Apparently the paeonic metre was the form in which they cast the Cretan dance rhythm. It is rather an interesting fact that this metre found so little acceptance in literature; but the Apollo hymns from Delphi show that it continued to be used for ritual hymns down to a comparatively late date. In the complicated lyrics of this metre the old paean refrain might disappear entirely, it might be retained in its original place as a refrain, or it might be worked into the regular movement of the hymn.

The fragments of literary paeans which remain to us (cf.

Appendix I) are almost all in dactylic or dactylo-epitrite measures. To make any inference from this fact as to the use of the latter metre in religious paeans is not exactly safe; but it is by no means improbable that it may have been used for some of the hymns in Apollo worship which are classed under the more general use of the term paean. The paean refrain does not occur in the fragments in question, but probably it was originally added at the end of stanza or hymn. As to the glyconic metre used in the paean of Aristonoos, it is evident that this is not a characteristic metre for paeans generally; probably this metre and its dance were regarded as suitable for such an occasion as that for which this paean was written, so that we have a glyconic hymn with the paean refrain added at the end of each colon. It need not surprise us that any of the metres used for hymns with dances about the altar should be utilized in hymns with the paean refrain, that is, in hymns probably called paeans.

3. The paean refrain.

The refrain *ὦ Παιάν* (called *ἐπίρρημα, ἐφύμνιον*) was the earliest characteristic of the paean; it was not, however, considered necessary to the paean in later times, or the discussion of the paean of Aristotle (in *Athen.* 696 B), which lacked the refrain, would be entirely without point. The fact that the refrain is so prominently mentioned in the Homeric hymn is proof, if proof were needed, of its importance then. In *Aisch. Pers.* 388–394, the paean is a responsive hymn or cry, and the word *ἀντηγάλαξε* (390) suggests that the response was a sort of refrain; here, however, the reference is primarily to the war-paean. *Agam.* 145 is clearly a reference to the refrain, and it is mentioned as an integral part of the prayer-paean. In *Eurip. Alc.* 423, the verb *ἀντηχῆσατε* indicates a responsive hymn, and the refrain of the worship hymn is contrasted with cries of mourning. In *Iph. Taur.* 1403 the sailors chant a paean in response to the prayers of Iphigeneia *ἐπηνφήμησαν εὐχαῖσιν*. Here the paean appears to be the simple refrain *ὦ παιάν* taken up by the chorus after strophes in the prayer-hymn of Iphigeneia. In Aristophanes the refrain is often an "Amen" taken up by the chorus after the prayer-hymn by a

single voice. Παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῇσι (Theogn. 779¹⁰⁶) implies that the choruses singing pæans were interrupted by shouts of the crowd; and the cry was no doubt the *ἰὴ Παιάν*.

In the proper Delphic pæan the refrain was unquestionably taken up by the multitude; in the legend the Korykian nymphs or the men of Parnassos raise the refrain to encourage Apollo (*e.g.*, Apoll. Rhod. II, 712). The structure of the pæan of Aristonoos and of the pæan to Dionysos shows that the refrain was differentiated in the singing from the rest of the hymn, a structure which itself suggests that the refrain was choral. There is no doubt that at Delphi in the celebration of Apollo's victory over the serpent the refrain continued to have great importance; but apart from this instance it may often either have been obscured by being worked into the regular metre, or have been entirely omitted. Commonly the cry continued to be used in worship as an invocation of the god (*ἰὴ ἰὴ Παιάν* like *ἰὴ ἰή, εὐοῖ εὐοῖ*) even when it was not retained as a refrain in the hymn. The verb *ἐφρυνεῖν* suggests the refrain, *ἐφύμνιον*; the verb *κελαδεῖν* also has reference to the shouting of the refrain.

4. The divisions of the pæan-hymn.

In the case of the hymns found at Delphi I have already called attention to the relation of the different parts of the pæan. Both the setting of the pæan and the myth which constitutes the main body of it, are taken from the worship of the god in whose honor it is composed. Still, as the pæan is properly a hymn for the worship of Apollo, it is natural enough that pæans to Asklepios should emphasize the connection of Asklepios with Apollo; similarly the pæan to Dionysos honors him as Apollo's companion in Delphic worship. Pindar's pæan to the Zeus of Dodona, like that of Bakchylides to Eirene, must be regarded as purely literary in character. The myth which occupies the main body of the pæan commonly has reference to that occasion in the god's history for which the pæan is composed. The arrival of Apollo at Delphi, his conflict with the serpent, and his taking possession of the oracle, form a story always suitable to the pæan at Delphi

(Pind. *Frag.* 55, 56*; Simonides, 26 B; cf. Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1234 f.; also the Delphic hymns already mentioned). This topic was combined with the story of Apollo's visit to the Hyperboreans in the paean by Alkaïos which was probably composed for the occasion of Apollo's return from that country of myth. A fragment of Pindar (52) mentions the experience of Neoptolemos at Delphi, another refers to the story of Glaukos and Halkyone (62), yet another to the Niobe legend (64, 65), and a fourth (68) mentions the famous oracle to Laïos. From these fragments we may infer that the literary paean had a considerably wider range of subject, or at least of allusion, than was customary in the case of the paean used in worship. References to the glory of the Delphic shrine, (Pindar, *Frag.* 53, 54, 69) and general references to the wisdom of the gods (Pindar, 61; Bakchyl. 14) would be equally appropriate to either form of paean. Pindar's reference to the Ismenian story of Apollo and the tripod, and his reference to the Apollo of Abdera (*Frag.* 63, 66) no doubt may be regarded as traces of the use of the paean in worship outside of Delphi. The Asklepios paeans, of which quite a series remains to us, recite the love of Apollo for Koronis and the birth of the god of healing. The few words that remain from such a paean by Sophokles are especially interesting in view of the part which Sophokles played in the introduction of Asklepios worship into Athens.

There were properly three parts to the paean;—the summons to the worshippers, the glimpse of the god in some period of his history, and the prayer for his aid. The summons to join in the worship of the god was an important part of the paean as used in worship; it was only in the shorter hymns of praise sometimes classed under the general name of paean, *e. g.*, Aripbron's hymn to Hygieia, that this summons could be omitted. The myth was the form in which the worshippers expressed their praise or honor of the god; in the two Delphic hymns with musical notes the myth is applied at its conclusion to present circumstances, and

* These fragments are printed in Appendix I, § 2.

thus the transition is easily made to the final prayer. The hymn ends with a prayer for the worshippers and for the state, which may be elaborate, or very simple. Even in the literary paeans this is not omitted.

5. The music with paeans.

As to the music with which paeans were rendered, very little was known until the discovery of the hymns with musical notes at Delphi, nor can the value of this discovery be properly estimated until more is known of Greek music. We learn from Plutarch, *de musica* 1136 F,* that prosodia and paeans were in the Doric mode; I find no other allusions to their musical character. Of the different modes in Greek music the Doric was that best fitted to the worship of Apollo, just as it was best adapted to the state in which the ideals of Apollo worship were to be realized, the Republic of Plato (*Pol.* 399 A). It stood for what was grand (μεγαλοπρεπές, Plutarch, *de mus.* 1136 D) and solemn (σενμόν, *ibid.*, 1136 F) in Greek music; it stood for the principle of measure and harmony in the active life of man (Plato, *Laches*, 188 D). In every discussion of Greek music (*e. g.*, Aristot. *Pol.* VIII, 5, 8, and 7, 19) it appears as the mode which tended to cultivate such a nature as was idealized in the god Apollo. As the paean belonged to the worship of Apollo it was necessarily in the Doric mode.

The cithara was the instrument which first found a place in the worship of Apollo, and this was the instrument properly associated with the paean (Theogn. 778; Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 146; *Ion*, 166, etc.). In the Homeric hymn the paean was led by Apollo playing the cithara; the cithara in Delphic worship was idealized in Apollo Kitharoidos, and in the earlier musical contests at the Pythian games¹³⁹ this was the instrument which accompanied the singers. At length the flute also found a place in Apollo's worship hardly less prominent than the cithara itself†, and in later time Apollo was thought of as the discoverer of both instruments

* Cf. also Schol. Pindar *Ol.* I, 26¹⁴³.

† Plutarch, *de mus.* XIV, 1135 F.

(αὐλητικῆς καὶ κιθαριστικῆς εὐρετής, *ibid.* 1135 F). From Eurip. *Troad.* 126-127 I infer that either flute or cithara might be used in connection with the paean in festival processions to the gods.* The first hymn to Apollo found at Delphi speaks of flute music at the sacrifice, and of the cithara which accompanied the sacred hymns (vv. 15-16); here the flute music seems to be a separate thing from the cithara accompaniment to the hymn itself. Plato (*Leg.* 700 D¹⁰⁰) also contrasts paeans and the cithara with dithyrambs and the flute. We may conclude that the paean proper was sung to the cithara, but that flute music accompanied the libation at the sacrifice while the paean prayer was being sung (probably by an individual), and that on other occasions a flute song may sometimes have been called a paean.

6. Performance.

The paean was performed by a chorus under the direction of a leader (Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 500, 513-517). Choruses are alluded to again and again in connection with the paean (*e. g.*, Plato, *Ion*, 534 D⁸⁹; *Leg.* 664 C¹⁰, 700 B¹⁸⁹; Athen. 626 B¹²².) The passage from Plato's *Ion* states distinctly that the paean is a hymn which all (the trained chorus? or all at the symposium?) sing; and in the Homeric hymn there can be no question that all join in singing the hymn,—in fact the only question is whether the leader Apollo sang at all. In the musical contests at Delphi the paean was sung by a single voice to the accompaniment of the cithara. In Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1404, the hymn-prayer is sung by a single voice, and the paean of the sailors is no more than the refrain. While the paean was properly a choral song, it is by no means impossible that in worship the hymn itself was sometimes sung by a single voice, while others danced to the measure and sang the refrain. So for example the two Delphic hymns to Apollo, though performed by a chorus, may have been sung by a single voice. No inference, however, can be drawn from the fact that Euripides represents Ion as singing a paean alone.

* Cf. Theogn. 761 "phorminx and sacred lay and flute" with libations at the sacrificial banquet; also Archil. *Frag.* 76¹⁶⁶; cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 53 E, 439 B.

The responsive character of the paean has already been mentioned¹⁴⁰. In Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 179 f. *θρῆνος* and *παῖάν* are apparently united under the heading *ἀντιψάλμους φῶδας*, while the two are distinguished in their farther characteristics. Here also the response is no more than the simple refrain; for the responses assumed for the *θρῆνοι* are simple cries of grief. The paeans that remain to us answer to this description in that there is no indication of two divisions of the chorus responding to each other, as in the dithyramb.

It has been remarked that the paean of the Homeric hymn is peculiar in that it is a *προσόδιον* rather than a hymn with choral dance. We have seen that the paean of Isyllos and the paean at the Hyakinthia at Sparta, if not at the Gymnopaediai, were sung in connection with the sacred procession. The paean of Aristonoo was sung either in connection with a procession or to greet a procession. At the same time the paean in all these instances was sung by a chorus, and probably with some sort of stately dance-step.*

In other instances the paean is a choral hymn at the altar.† The Delphic hymns are apparently to be included here; also the paean of Alkaios described by Himerios, *Or.* XIV, 10. These paeans were sung with an elaborate dance-step, of which we get some hint in the metre; in the examples that remain there is no trace of a strophic arrangement¹⁴¹.

7. Occasions when the paean was appropriate.

The paean, then, was sung at the great festivals of Greece in connection with the processions, and also in connection with the libation and prayer at any sacrifice. Its use at the Delphic festivals of the Daphnephoria, the Return of Apollo (*Epiphanēia*), and the celebration of Apollo's victory over the serpent,

* (Cf. Xen. *Anab.* VI, 1, 11⁹⁸; Plut. *Lives* 1051 E¹¹⁹; Athen. 631 D¹⁴¹). The *ἐμβατήριος παῖάν* described by Plutarch is marked as something different from the paean proper; cf. *supra*, p. 22.

† Aisch. *Sept.* 268⁸⁸; Soph. *Trach.* 210¹²⁶; Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 687, 691⁹¹; *Iph. Aul.* 1469; Theog. 776¹⁰⁶; Plut. *Lives*, 812 A¹¹⁹; Athen. 678 C⁹⁹; Strabo, X, 4, 18¹⁰⁰.

and also at the Spartan festivals of the Hyakinthia and the Gymnopaïdai has already been mentioned. It was appropriate, however, at any sacrifice, and we have seen that the regular prayer-hymn that accompanied the libation is often called the paean. In Aisch. *Sept.* 267-270⁶⁸ and *Frag.* 156¹⁸¹ it is the choral cry of supplication with the libation at the altar. In *Choeph.* 149-152¹²⁹ it is the responsive hymn associated with the prayer and libation of Electra. In Eurip. *Alc.* 423¹⁸⁰ paean and libation are connected, and in *Iph. Aul.* 1467¹⁰⁷ ff. the paean is the sacred choral prayer at the sacrifice. For Theognis (761 f., 775-779¹⁰⁶) it is the choral hymn with cries of invocation that accompanied the libation at the sacrifice. It is the prayer with libation before important undertakings (Thuc. VI, 32⁴²; Xen. *Anab.* IV, 8, 16⁴⁵; *Cyrop.* III, 3, 58-59⁶⁹). Paeans attend the libations and sacrifices on the way to Eleusis (C.I.A. III, 5¹¹⁷; cf. Aristid. 505, 15¹²⁴). From the epic on, libation and prayer go together; the paean is the choral hymn accompanying prayer or the choral response to the prayer of the individual, that accompanied the libations at sacrifice in later times. It differs from the *θρήνος* (Aisch. *Choeph.* 342¹²⁵) not only in general character and purpose, but also because it is accompanied by the libation (Cf. Schol. on Eurip. *Alc.* 424¹⁸⁰), *i. e.*, because it was a genuine prayer. The sacrifice commonly meant a banquet, so that this paean naturally passed over into the symposiac paean.

The paean at the sacrifice, therefore, was nothing more nor less than a prayer (Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 406 C¹¹⁸). Its purely religious character is manifest in Plato's *Ion* 534 D⁸⁹, where it is described as most beautiful not through any art of the poet, but because it is the direct gift of the divine muses. The word *εὐφημεῖν* commonly means sacred silence at the sacrifice, but it is often applied to the paean because the paean was the sacred hymn appropriate to the sacrifice.*

The general character of the paean is described by Plutarch, *Mor.*

* Aisch. *Pers.* 393⁶¹; Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1403⁴⁰; *Iph. Aul.* 1468¹⁰⁷; possibly this verb should be more often translated "utter the sacred cry".

389 B¹⁴³* as orderly and σώφρων; according to Athen. 628 A¹⁰⁸ it is sung μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως. This more stately character distinguished the paean from the dithyramb, and also apparently from the ὑπόρχημα. To this latter form of hymn one form of paean—the paean at the altar—came to be somewhat closely assimilated. When the paean refrain is missing, and an elaborate metre suggests an elaborate dance, it might be impossible for us to decide whether an ancient hymn were properly to be named a paean or a ὑπόρχημα. That the question was discussed even in antiquity we learn from Plutarch, *de mus.* 1134 D and Athen. 696 B-D.

* Cf. 1136 F; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* I, 26¹⁴³.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SYMPOSIAC PAEAN.

In spite of the comparatively frequent references to the paean at banquets, the later commentators make no specific reference to this use of the paean. The fact is explained, however, when we remember that the paean at the banquet was essentially the same thing as the paean at the sacrifice—viz., a hymn (to Apollo or some other god) accompanied by the libation. It is almost impossible to draw any sharp line between the sacrificial banquet and the ordinary banquet, for in early times every feast was in theory a sacrificial feast, and later the religious element was often present in greater or less degree. In the Homeric hymn the procession that sang the paean and followed Apollo to Delphi took place just subsequent to a sacrificial banquet. In *Theog.* 773–779¹⁰⁶, as in *Iliad*, I, 472 and Verg. *Aen.* VI, 657¹⁰⁴, the paeans followed the hecatombs which were offered in a sacrificial feast; but in *Theognis* the emphasis is on the feast rather than on the act of worship. In Xen. *Anab.* VI, 1, 4, we read of a sacrifice that is offered in order to get flesh for a banquet. After the banquet come the paean and the libations; and then follow festal dances, some of which are danced in armor to the accompaniment of flutes and paeans, as in the prosodia to the gods. As described in *Cyrop.* IV, 1, 6¹⁴⁴ and *Hell.* VII, 2, 23¹⁴⁷ and 4, 36¹⁴⁵, the banquet (no reference is made to sacrifice) is followed by libations to the gods and a choral paean. *Symp.* 2, 1¹⁴⁶ refers to the regular practice of libation and paean when the banquet tables are removed and the drinking begins; and according to *Hell.* IV, 7, 4¹⁰⁹, this libation and paean are offered in one instance to Poseidon because he has manifested his presence in an earthquake. This series of passages in Xenophon shows the gradual transition from the paean with libation at a sacrifice to the so-called symposiac paean.

The characteristic place of the symposiac paean was with the li-

bation¹⁶⁸ offered to the gods before the drinking began. Xen. *Hell.* IV, 7, 4, the libation with paean came μετὰ δεῖπνον; cf. Alkman *Frag.* 22¹⁴⁸. In four passages of Athenaios (149 C¹⁴⁹, 179 D¹⁵⁰, 250 B¹⁵¹, 630 F¹⁵²) the position of the paean after the banquet is made clear; and in the first two passages it is connected closely with the libation.* In these passages the word paean is used definitely to mean the choral hymn to the gods before the symposium begins; its religious character is sufficiently proved by its close connection with the libation¹⁶⁷. The fact that the paean as sung at the symposium was felt to be a prayer is clear from Xen. *Hell.* IV, 7, 4¹⁰⁹; VII, 2, 23¹⁴⁷; Plato *Symp.* 176 A¹⁵³. The prayer with libation before a symposium as described by Xenophanes (I, 15¹⁶²) is practically the same as what is elsewhere called a paean.†

That there was more than one paean at a banquet might appear from the fragment of Pherekrates (Athen. 685 A¹⁵⁴): ἐγγει καπιβόα τρίτον παιῶν, ὡς νόμος ἐστίν. I do not understand, however, that this refers to a series of paeans in the course of the symposium. We find references to a libation to Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων when the wine is first brought in to the banquet, and to a three-fold libation at the end of the feast before the drinking begins‡. The paean was connected with the latter, and more especially with the third part of it, the libation to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (cf. the Antiphanes fragments mentioned above; Soph. *Frag.* 375, etc.). The third paean of Pherekrates (a) means the paean with the third libation and (b) it implies that the first two libations were accompanied with prayers and shouts of invocation which might in a general

* Cf. also Xen. *Hell.* VII, 2, 23¹⁴⁷ and 4, 36¹⁴⁶; *Cyrop.* IV, 1, 6¹⁴⁴ and *Symp.* 2, 1¹⁴⁶.

† Bernhardt, *Griech. Litteraturgesch.* II, i, 623, speaks of the symposiac paean as a "Spielart, das Lied welches man auf der Grenze religiöser und weltlicher Sitte bei Gastmälern sang", a phrase which quite overlooks its proper religious character even at the symposium. And when Stengel, *Griech. Cultusalt.* S. 59, says that the word paean was also applied to songs "die beim Trinkgelage vorgetragen wurden", the statement is inadequate in that it makes no reference to the religious character of the paean at the symposium.

‡ Passages quoted by Schwalbe, pp. 36-39.

way be termed paeans. That the paean was sung to Zeus Soter need not surprise us, nor is it at all necessary to assume with Schwalbe that the symposiac paean as it appears in connection with the third libation, was ever sung to Apollo. The paean became the regular name for the prayer-hymn with refrain that accompanied the libation after a sacrifice, before there is any reason to think that the Attic custom of a triple libation between feast and symposium arose.

Aisch. *Agam.* 246¹⁵⁵. The emendation of Hartung *παῖνα* or *παῖνα* for *αἰῶνα* seems necessary for the metre as well as for the sense. The paean here is a prayer-song (*εὐποτμον*) accompanying the third of the libations that followed the feast (*εὐτραπέζους*).

Finally the banquet was concluded by a libation and prayer, in the same way that it had been begun. Plutarch (*de mus.* 44, 1147 A¹⁶¹) uses the word paean as the name for this hymn-prayer.

The paean was by no means the only form of song at the banquet. In the fragments of Antiphanes (*Frag. Com. Graec.* III, 5¹⁵⁶ and 46¹⁵⁷) the paean is distinguished from other (choral?) drinking songs, and in Plutarch (*Mor.* 615 B¹⁵⁸) the paean chorus to the gods is followed by *σκόλια* sung by individuals who pass the laurel branch from hand to hand. It is only in a few instances¹⁵⁹ that the word paean is used as a general name for a banquet song (Athen. 692 F.¹⁵⁶ and 630 F.¹⁶²), and still more rarely as a name for the songs of revel which were characteristic of the feast (Demos-thenes, XVIII, 287¹⁶⁰; XIX, 338¹⁶⁰; Hesychios *παῖνας* . . . *κώμους*; and the vase inscription C.I.G., 8385²⁵).

The general character of this paean, by virtue of its occasion, was joyous and festive¹⁶⁸, as well as solemn. It was no dithyramb (Athen. 628 A¹⁶⁵); it was a prayer rather than a song of thanksgiving (Xenophanes, I, 15¹⁶², Xen. *Hell.* IV, 7, 4¹⁶⁹); but it was inevitably an expression of gladness (Plut. *Lives*, 10 A¹⁶⁸, Verg. *Aen.* VI, 657¹⁶⁴, etc.). Probably it was sung as a choral hymn by all present, though Plut. *Mor.* 1147 A¹⁶¹, *ταὐτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαιώνισε, καὶ σπείρας*, has been taken by Bode* to mean that it was sung by the host

* *Hellen. Dichtkunst*, p. 61.

and the passage in Aischylos (*Agam.* 246) might be interpreted to mean that it was sung by a single voice. In the remainder of the passages it appears to be a choral song, led by the host. In Clem. Alex. *Paed.* II, 165¹⁶³* (a passage reminding the reader of Plutarch, *Mor.* 615 B¹⁵⁸) the symposiac paean is compared with the Hebrew psalm, in that it is a choral song, and doubtless too because of its religious character. In any case we must assume that the refrain invoking the god, ἢ Παῖάν, was uttered by all. The verb ἐπιβόα in the fragment of Pherekrates applies to this refrain.

The flute was the instrument ordinarily used in connection with libation and sacrifice, and Archil. *Frag.* 76¹⁶⁴, Plut. *Mor.* 713 B¹⁶⁵, may indicate that the flute accompanied the symposiac paean. The lyre, however, is also mentioned in the passage Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 165¹⁶³ (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 615 B¹⁵⁸), as well as in Theogn. 761¹⁶⁶.

A distinct form of the symposiac paean was the paean sung at marriage feasts.¹⁷⁴ Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 1034¹⁷⁰ ff.) alludes to the practice; according to a fragment of Aischylos (281¹⁷¹) quoted by Plato (*Polit.* 383 A) Apollo at the wedding of Thetis sang the sacred paean (ἐπηυφήμησεν), promising many blessings to the marriage and cheering the heart of the immortal bride. The scholiast on this passage (p. 341 Bekk.¹⁷²) quotes from Aristoxenos and Phyllis to the effect that at marriage feasts all put on the laurel, and reclining about one table sing γνώμας καὶ ἐρωτικά σύντρονα. Babrios's allusion to the marriage paean (XXIV¹⁷³) refers to such a choral song of joy, sung at the marriage feast; here, however, the general meaning of the word paean appears in the references to choral dances accompanying the paean.

* Quoted by Schwalbe, 40 n. 41.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PAEAN OF VICTORY.

The word paean has been adopted in modern languages to mean a hymn of joy, more specifically a hymn of triumph. This meaning of the word goes back to Homer, but it becomes common only in later writers, where it tends to supersede other uses of the word¹⁷⁵.

On the occasion of a victory the expressions of joy take the form (a) of shouting by the army when they recognize their success, and by non-combatants who sympathize with them and join their shouts of joy; (b) of a triumphant return of the army to the camp or to their own city; and (c) of a celebration at the camp or the city, which consists of sacrifices and feasts to which oftentimes a festival procession is added. In each instance the hymns of joy and praise, and a special form of the shouting, are called paeans.

We have seen that the paean was used in worship both as a processional performed by a chorus, and as an altar hymn, sung either by a single voice with responses, or by a trained chorus. Following the order that has been pursued in this study I speak first of the paean as the processional hymn at the celebration of a victory—generally in the victorious city. A typical example is that mentioned by Athen. I, 20 E¹⁷⁶ and *Vit. Soph.* § 3¹⁷⁶. Sophokles played the lyre and led the dance of naked youths in the paean that celebrated the victory at Salamis. With this may be compared a quotation from Nikander¹⁷⁷ to the effect that when Astygites slew the tyrant Aspalis, the people crowned him and instituted a procession with paeans*. Usually, however, the procession consisted of the army, returning to their city or to their headquarters. So the Greeks are exhorted to return to their camp (*Iliad*, XXII, 391¹⁷⁹) singing a paean, for they have won

* Cf. Arist. *Equit.* 1318, *Pax*, 555¹⁷⁸.

great glory by slaying Hektor. In this instance we may infer that the paean consisted of brief stanzas by a single voice reciting what had been done, interrupted by the refrain ἢ Παῖάν which is taken up by the multitude*. So Diod. XX, 16, 4¹⁸⁰ the army sailed up to the city, crowned and singing paeans. Plutarch (*Lives*, 27 C¹⁸¹, 302 A¹⁸², 439 B¹⁸³) mentions this type of paean. Led by the general, the soldiers march under arms to the music of flutes, singing παιᾶνα ἐπινίκιον. In Arrian, *Anab.* VII, 11, 7¹⁸⁴, we read that the army returned to camp with shouts and paeans; here the paean may be understood as one form of shout, or as a hymn of victory which, like the shouting, served to express the feelings of the soldiers. The lines quoted by Suidas¹⁸⁵ (under the word ἐξάρχοντες) with reference to the manner in which the Trojans dragged the wooden horse into Troy, also allude to this type of paean, i. e., the processional paean celebrating a victory.

Again as the paean was the proper sacrifice-hymn at the altar and the choral prayer at the feast, it could not be lacking at the sacrifices and feasts that commemorated a victory. According to the scholion on Aisch. *Sept.* 634¹⁸⁶, a victorious army sets up tropaea to the gods and offers sacrifices. The custom is alluded to in Xen. *Hell.* VII, 2, 15¹⁴⁷ (cf. also Plut. *Lives*, 27 C¹⁸¹) where the paean is raised at the tropaeum, and VII, 2, 23 where the paean accompanies the libation in acknowledgment of good fortune. Plut. *Lives*, 443 B¹⁸⁷ describes a sacrifice to the general as to a god and quotes part of the paean that was sung at the altar; 378 B¹⁸⁸ describes a similar case except that here the praise of the general is worked into the paean to the god, which accompanied the libation after the sacrifice. The Christian writer Theophylactos¹⁸⁹ alludes to the paean sung at the tropaeum (I, 7, 6) and again (IV, 15, 18) relates that "the priest raised the paean, a new song of victory to Christ."

In considering the paean in worship, we have seen that the word might refer either to the hymn sung by a trained chorus, or to the hymn sung by a single voice with a refrain in which all the

* Compare the wailing for Hektor, *Iliad*, XXIV, 718 ff.

worshippers joined. So the refrain *ἰὴ Παιάν* taken up by the multitude was no doubt a characteristic feature in the paeans of victory that have just been considered. In this way I explain the use of the word paean to describe the shout of victory, when the army is first conscious of its success. This could have been no real hymn, but the shouts consisted of the cry *ἰὴ Παιάν* which was raised later as the refrain of the hymn of victory, so that the shouts also are properly called *παιανισμός*²⁰⁴. In Aisch. *Sept.* 635¹⁸⁶ *ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν' ἐξιακχάσας* and *Pers.* 605¹⁹⁰ *κέλαδος οὐ παιώνιος* (a cry that is not a paean of victory) the paean is the shout of the successful army crying *ἰὴ Παιάν*. That the cry consisted of this refrain is made perfectly plain by Herod. V, 1¹⁹¹, where it is said that the Paeonians interpreted their opponents' "paeans" over their victory in single combats as that summons to themselves, which was the token that the oracle had bidden them wait for. In Thuc. II, 91¹⁹² it is not plain whether the *παιανίζειν* should be taken as meaning a hymn or merely shouts of victory; but in Plut. *Lives*, 1004 D¹⁹⁵ the *παιᾶνι καὶ πατάγῳ* can only be understood as meaning that the paean was one form of the shouting, and the same is true of Dion. Hal. II. 41¹⁹⁶, and of Diod. Sic. XIII, 16, 7¹⁹³. In the last passage it is the shouting of non-combatants as they see that victory is coming to their side, to which the verb *παιανίζειν* is applied. This *ἐπιπαιανισμός* after a victory Strabo (IX, 3, 10¹⁹⁴) connects with the battle paean of Delphic legend, *i. e.*, with the cry *ἰὴ Παιάν* to encourage Apollo.

The passage in Strabo¹⁹⁴ just quoted is the only place in which the paean before the battle and the paean after the battle are in any way connected, although the characteristic noun and verb which describe the battle paean are applied also to the paean of victory. This use of words is only natural because both types of paean under somewhat the same conditions must have assumed a similar form. To discuss the paean of victory under the heading "Schlachtepaeanismus", as does Schwalbe, is in principle wrong. Not only is its function entirely different, but I believe its immediate origin was different. The paean after battle arose as we have seen from its use in the glad feast of sacrifice which was the

natural Greek way of celebrating success ; the battle paean probably arose from the original use of the paean as an appeal to the Helper to ward off evil. In spite of their assimilation in form—the form of a *παιανισμός*,—and in spite of the fact that they both came to have a place in Delphic myth, they are as truly distinct as if the scholion (on Thuc. I, 50⁶⁰) were correct, that the paean before the battle was to Ares, that after the battle to Apollo.

In spite of the fact that Apollo was the archer god and thus the god of war, I cannot find that the paean of victory had any close connection with the worship of Apollo. In *Iliad*, XXII, 391¹⁷⁹, some intimation of this connection might certainly be expected if it really existed. Sacrifices in celebration of success were naturally offered to the patron-god of the successful city. If then the paean was transferred from sacrificial processions and choral hymns about the altar, which were customary in the event of any great success, to the particular celebration of a victory in battle, we might naturally expect that the god of the city would still be the god that was honored in the worship. And since the paean was most commonly used in the worship of Apollo, we may expect that some of the ceremony of Apollo worship would often be found in the celebration of a victory with paeans.

We need not be surprised to find that this hymn used in the celebration of success, in particular of success in war, should be treated by writers in an age of Christian civilization as a hymn of thanksgiving. The word is so used by early Christian writers, *e. g.*, by Clement of Alexandria, with great frequency. K. O. Müller* and Bernhardt† both speak of the paean as a “Danklied.” According to Christ.‡ the paean was “aus Dankliedern an Apollon nach glücklicher Beendigung der Not entwickelt.” But the example which Christ quotes (*Arist. Vesp.* 869–876,) is not a “Danklied” in the strict sense of the term, nor can I find any evidence that this was the earliest type of paean. In the scholion

* *Dorier*, I, 350.

† *Griech. Litt.*³ II, i, 623.

‡ *Griech. Litt.* p. 110.

on Arist. *Pax*, 555¹⁷⁸ the paean is called a ὕμνος εὐχαριστήριος, but I do not find the specific idea of thanksgiving in any other passage. In the group of passages that has just been considered, where the paean often is little more than one form of war-cry (Aischyl. *Sept.* 634¹⁸⁶; Herod. V, 1¹⁹¹), it denotes the exultation of victory. The paean hymn of the army returning from battle is a glad song of victory. It takes its form from the festival song to the god, which is the most familiar type of joyful hymn; both the festival hymn and the paean of victory are largely made up of praise to the god, but neither of them dwells on the thought of thanksgiving.

The two ideas of *joy* and of *praise* which are associated in the paean of victory receive different emphasis, and sometimes they seem to be entirely separated. *Iliad*, XXII, 391¹⁷⁹ dwells only on the joy of victory, and makes no mention of praise to the god. So in Dionys. Hal. VIII, 55 and 65¹⁹⁷, the one thought is the joy of the victors. Arist. *Vesp.* 863-890 is a paean of praise to the god, not of course without tokens of joy. The paean in Soph. *Trach.* 210¹²⁶ is a hymn of praise, but the occasion of it is the good news of the return of Herakles, and it serves to express joy. In Plut. *Lives*, 274 A¹⁹⁸ the contrast between dirges and paeans is emphasized; 416 E¹⁹⁹, paeans and πόροι receive the army; 856 A, the paean and the dance express exultation; and 1004 D¹⁹⁵, the one thought is that of joy. In a series of passages ([Plato] *Ax.* 365 B²⁰⁰; Dionys. VIII, 55 and 65¹⁹⁷; Epikt. II, 6, 26; IV, 4, 22²⁰¹); the paean is a hymn to express joy, with little or no reference to the idea of victory.

On the other hand the idea of praise is emphasized in Plut. *Lives*, 273 E²⁰² "paeans of victory and praises"; the paean sung to the god and the general (302 A¹⁸², 378 B C¹⁸⁸), is a hymn of praise to the god, and to the general with the god; 443 B C¹⁸⁷, sacrifices are offered to Lysander as a god, and a paean of praise is sung to him. Claud. *in Rufin.* I, *Praef.* 11²⁰³, the cry *Io Paean* is the shout of praise.

Athen. 696 E-697 A mentions five paeans that were sung to men. The first of these is the paean to Lysander that has just

been referred to. This paean, according to Douris, was sung in Samos. The paean to Ptolemy of Egypt, which the Rhodians sang, was mentioned in a book on the sacrifices of the Rhodians. The paean to Krateros of Macedon was sung at Delphi, a boy playing the lyre. The first is the paean of praise sung at a victory ; the next two are songs of praise in some general connection with worship. The paean to Hagemon of Corinth, with the paean refrain, was sung at Corinth ; the paean to Antigonos and Demetrios at Athens was selected at a competitive contest, and continued to be sung at Athens ; more about these two paeans we do not know. Apparently, however, the choral hymn to the gods was transferred from the worship of the gods to the praise of men. Or, to speak more accurately, the content of the hymn used in the worship of the gods, was so modified in these instances by the recital of the successful deeds of great men, that its main function was rather to praise men than to praise the god in whose worship it was used. The transition easily took place through the paean sung after a victory, in which praise of the general was naturally associated with worship and praise to the god. I see no reason why such paeans as these may not have been sung at banquets and symposia, but it is by no means probable that the paean of praise to men grew out of the *σκόλια* sung at the symposium, nor could it have grown out of the symposiac paean in the proper sense of the word, for the religious form of this had become too definite and fixed to admit of the change.

CONCLUSION.

It is now possible, as it was not possible to begin with, to define the paeon in its relation to other types of religious hymns. The general word for hymn in religious worship is ὕμνος; special kinds of hymns are distinguished according to the god in whose honor they are sung, and the manner in which they are sung. The dithyramb is the choral hymn to Dionysos; it is accompanied by the music of the flute, and the chorus perform an intricate, sometimes rather a wild, dance as they sing; often two divisions of the chorus sing by strophe and antistrophe. The ὑπόρχημα is a hymn accompanied with choral dance; the word designates the hymn as the accompaniment of the dance, and in its more general use it may be applied to any of the hymns with dance; properly it was accompanied with a lively kind of dance that was often mimetic in character.* The προσόδιον was a processional hymn; to the accompaniment of its music the religious procession drew near to the temple of the god. The paeon was a choral hymn with stately dance, either in connection with the sacred procession, in which case it was one form of the prosodion; or about the altar, in which case it resembled the hyporchema, although its character was more stately. Its distinctive feature was its connection with Apollo worship, and consequently the use of the cithara to accompany it. We have seen that it was originally a hymn invoking Paian, which soon became associated with Apollo worship. The name also is applied to the invocation of Paian before a battle. The processional hymn in the worship of Apollo, sung and danced by trained choruses and accompanied by the cithara, is a paeon. So the hymn danced in solemn measure about the altar by a chorus, is a paeon. At Delphi the cithara was used, and the refrain was not forgotten. Once more the name is applied to the hymn-prayer with libation that was offered at any sacrifice, for here also the

* The grammarians occasionally associate the ὑπόρχημα with the worship of Apollo.

worshippers respond with the refrain *ὦ Παιάν*. At the banquet the special hymn-prayer offered with the third libation between the banquet proper and the symposium receives the name paean. Finally the name is regularly given both to the shout of victory and to the hymn of victory.

To trace the development of the paean in detail is impossible. That the paean was originally an invocation of the god Paian seems to me highly probable. That it passed over into the worship of Apollo when he came to be Paian, the Healer, is indicated by its close connection with Apollo worship. That the battle paean had a peculiar development as the result of the occasion when it was used, so that it became quite different from the ordinary type of hymn used before an important undertaking, I think we may safely assume. That the specialized use of the paean at the symposium was derived from its general use in worship; that the paean of victory was a variety of the paean used in worship; that the particular use of the paean as a hymn of praise and as a hymn of joy are specialized forms of the paean at a victory;—these are theses that I have tried to render probable. But that we can trace the development of the paean in detail, and can feel that any such reconstruction of the process of development as is indicated by the table given on the following page, is more than a hypothesis, I should be the last to claim.

TABLE

SHOWING THE RELATION OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE PAEAN.

From the original form at the left of the page, other types of the paean seem to have arisen in the order indicated by the table.

	Paeon before battle, } <i>παianισμός.*</i>	CHAPTER III, § 2.
Paeon with sacrifice } before important } undertakings.		CHAPTER III, § 1.
Prayer-hymn in time } of illness or dis- } tress; — originally } to Paian,—later to } Apollo.		CHAPTERS I, II.
The paean in the or- } dinary worship of } Apollo, — later in } any worship. } a. Processional. } b. Altar-song.		CHAPTERS IV, V.
Paeon a general term } for prayer offered } with a libation.		CHAPTERS IV, V.
Paeon-prayer with li- } bation at the sym- } posium. } (Marriage paean.)		CHAPTER VI.
The paean of victory, } a. Altar-song. } b. Processional. } c. <i>παianισμός.*</i> } (Hymn of joy or } praise.)		CHAPTER VII.

* As the use of the same word (*παianισμός*) implies, one form of the paean of victory closely resembled the paean before battle.

PASSAGES REFERRED TO.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Böckh, *Pindari opera* II, xvii–xviii, treats the work of Didymos ἐν παιᾶσιν, which is evidently a commentary on Pindar's paeans; cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* I, 26; II, 70; *Pyth.* VI, 4; XII, 45.

2. Athen. 622 A. Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ παιάνων φησί. . . . Cf. p. 618 D.

3. *Etym. Gud.* 446, 51; cf. *Et. Or.*, 133, 32. παιᾶνες, παρὰ τὸ παύσω παύων καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ υ εἰς ι. καὶ οὕτω ὁ Δίδυμος.

CHAP. I. THE GOD PAIAN.

4. *Iliad*,

V, 401 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ Παιήων ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα πάσσω
ἤκέσατ'.

V, 899 ὧς φάτο, καὶ Παιήον' ἀνώγειν ἰήσασθαι.
(900=401 supra.)

5. *Odyss.*

iv, 231 ἱητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων· ἥ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης.

6. Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* X, 738. Quamvis quidam alium Paeana esse alium Apollinem velint, sed vere Paeon Apollo.

Schol. Plato, *Symp.* 177, Bekk. 378, 16. ἡ Παιήονα τὸν τῶν θεῶν ἱατρόν.

7. Hesiod, *Frag.* CXXXIX (220); cf. Eustath. ad *Odyss.*, 1494, 12. εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ὑπὲρ θανατοῦ σάώσει,
ἥ αὐτὸς Παιήων, ὃς πάντων φάρμακα οἶδεν.

8. Aisch. *Agam.* 99. παιὼν γίγνου τῇσδε μερίμνης.

Agam. 1248. ἀλλ' οὔτι παιὼν τῷδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγῳ.

Frag. 244. ὦ θάνατε Παιᾶν, μὴ μ' ἀτιμάσῃς μολεῖν
μόνος γὰρ εἶ σὺ τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν
ιατρὸς, ἄλγος δ' οὐδὲν ἄπτεται νεκροῦ.

9. Aisch. *Suppl.* 1065 ὅσπερ Ἴω
πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' εὖ
χειρὶ παιωνία.

10. Aisch. *Frag.* 142. εὐχαῖς δὲ σώζοις δεσπότης παιωνίαυς.

11. Aisch. *Agam.*

848 ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων
ἦτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
πειρασόμεσθα πῇμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.

. Solon, XIII,

57 ἄλλοι Παιῶνος πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον ἔχοντες
ιητροί.

13. Aisch. *Agam.* 145 ἰήιον δ' ἐπανακαλῶ Παιᾶν', ἰή.

14. Pindar, *Pyth.* IV,

270 ἐσσι δ' ἱατῆρ ἐπικαιρότατος, Παιᾶν τέ σοι τιμᾷ φάος.

15. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 154 ἰήιε Δάλιε Παιᾶν,
ἀμφὶ σοὶ ἀζόμενος. . .

Trach. 221 ἰὼ ἰὼ Παιᾶν Παιᾶν.

Trach. 1208 ἀλλ' ὦν ἔχω παιώνιον
καὶ μούνον ἱατῆρα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν.

Phil. 167 οὐδέ τιν' αὐτῷ
παιῶνα κακῶν ἐπινωμᾶν.

Phil. 832 ἴθ' ἴθι μοι παιήων. [MS. παίων.]

Phil. 1345 κριθέντ' ἄριστον, τοῦτο μὲν παιωνίας
ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν.

Frag. 469 ἀκτὰς ἀπαίωνας τε καὶ μελαμβαθεῖς
λιποῦσα λίμνης ἦλθον ἡχούσης γόους
'Αχέροντος ὀξυπλήγος ἄρσενας χοάς.

- 16.** Eurip. *Alc.* 91 εἰ γὰρ μετακύμμος ἄτας,
ὦ Παιάν, φανείης.
220 ὦναξ Παιάν,
ἔξευρε μηχανήν τιν' Ἀδμήτῃ κακῶν.

Eurip. *Hipp.*

- 1372 μέθετέ με τὸν τάλανα·
καί μοι θάνατος παιὰν ἔλθοι.
προσαπόλλντέ με. . .

Schol. θάνατος παιὰν· σωτὴρ καὶ ἱατρὸς προσέλθοι ὁ θάνατος.

- 17.** I.G.A. 516; I.G.S.I. 269. Selinunte "in acropoli inter
templa."

Ἀπόλ]ωνος Παιᾶ[ν]ος
Ἀθ]αναίας.

- C.I.A. I. 210. Ἀ]πόλλωνος
Π]αιῶνος
Ἀν]άκοιν.

- 18.** C.I.G. 1897. ἐσθλὰ δαεὶς Παιῶνος ἀλεξητήρια νούσων,
οἷς πολλοὺς θανάτου ῥύσατο καὶ καμάτων.
1946. χαῖρ[ε μάκαρ, βασι]λεῦ Παιάν, ἐκατηβόλ' Ἀπολ[λον].
5039. Παιάν, Μανδοῦλι . . . Λατοῦς γόνε . . . Απόλλων.

Orphic. *Argon.*

- 21 θητείην Παιᾶνος, ὀρεσσιδρόμου τε λατρείην
μητρός.

- 175 Ἀδμητος . . . ᾧ ποτε Παιὰν
θητεύων ὑπόεικε.

- 1356 Παιὰν δ' ἄρ' ἐκηβόλος ἀγχόθι ναίων
Δήλου ἄπο κραναῆς ἦκεν βέλος.

Orph. *Hymn.* XXXIV, 1. Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, Παιάν, Τιτυοκτόνε, Φοῖβε.

- 19.** Cf. Eurip. *Frag.* 480.

δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, Παιὰν Ἀπολλων εὖλυρε.

Cf. Macrobian. *Sat.* I, 18, 6. Apollinem Liberumque unum eun-
demque deum esse.

Plato *Leg.* 664 C. δεύτερος δὲ ὁ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τόν τε Παιᾶνα ἐπικαλούμενος μάρτυρα τῶν λεγομένων ἀληθείας περί καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἵλεων μετὰ πειθοῦς γίγνεσθαι ἐπευχόμενος.

Plut. *Mor.* ; *Quaest. Conv.* IV, 745 A. Ἀπόλλωνι Παιᾶνι . . (not the same as) Μουσαγέτη.

Mor. 1075 F. καὶ Παιᾶνα καὶ Μαντικόν . . (names for Apollo.)

Strabo, XIV, 6, p. 635. Οὐλίον δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσιν τινα καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Δήλιοι, οἷον ὑγιαστικόν καὶ παιωνικόν.

Himerios, *Orat.* XXXIV, 6. Παιάν (= Apollo.)

Theokr. *Idyl.* V, 79, VI, 27. ὦ Παιάν.

Epigr. I, 3. Πύθιε Παιάν.

II (VII), 1. ὁ τοῦ Παιήονος υἱός.

Seneca, *Hercul. Oet.*

92 Cirrhaea Paeon templa et aetheriam domum
serpente caeso meruit.

Cornut. *Comp. theol. Graec.* 69, 17. Παιᾶνα δ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν εἶπουν κατ' ἀντίφρασιν καὶ ἐξίλαστικῶς, ἵνα μὴ νόσους αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέμπῃ μῆδ' ἐφθείρῃ τὸν . . ἀέρα.

20. C.I.G. 5973c. σῶζε, μάκαρ Παιάν, ἀκεσώδυνε.

21. Herondas, *Mim.* IV.

1 χαίροις ἄναξ Παίηον, ὃς μέδεις Τρίκκης
καὶ Κῶν γλυκῆαν κῆπίδανρον ῥῆκας . . .

79 κάλ' ὕμιν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἐντελέως τὰ ἱρὰ
καὶ ἐς λῶν ἐμβλέποντα· μεζόνως οὔτις
ἠρέσατο τὸν Παίηον, ἥπερ οὖν ὑμεῖς.
ἰὴ ἰὴ Παίηον, εὐμενῆς εἴης
καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε κεῖ τινες τῶνδε
ἔασ' ὀπυιηταὶ τε καὶ γενῆς ἄσσον.
ἰὴ ἰὴ Παίηον· ὦδε ταῦτ' εἴη.

22. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, 25. Παίηονος ἱερεύς.

23. Cicero *in Verrem act.* II, iv, 57 ; 127. Quid? signum

Paeanis ex aede [Syraculis] Aesculapi praeclare factum, sacrum ac religiosum, non sustulisti? quod omnes propter pulchritudinem visere, propter religionem colere solebant? 128 atque ille Paean sacrificiis anniversariis simul cum Aesculapio apud illos colebatur.

24. C.I.G.

2292 Σοί, Παιῶν ἀναξ' Ἀσκληπιέ, τήνδ' ἀνέθηκεν.

3158. Ἀσκληπιῷ Παιή[ο]νι Διόγνητος . . . καθιέρωσε.

3538, 14 ἡμὲν Ἀθηναίῃ πολεμηδόκῃ Ἀτρυτώνῃ
ἡδὲ Δι[ω]νύσῃ λαθικηδέϊ φυσιζέψῃ,
ἡδὲ καὶ εἰητήρι νόσ[ω]ν Παιήονι λυγρῶν.

Kallistrat. *Descrip.* X, 4. ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ σοι καὶ, λόγων, ὦ Παιάν, νεαρῶν καὶ μνήμης ἐγγόνων ἀπηρξάμεθα· κελεύεις γὰρ, οἶμαι· πρόθυμος δέ σοι καὶ τὸν νόμον ἄδειν, εὖ νέμοις ὑγείαν.

Orph. *Hymn.* LXVII, 1. Ἰητὴρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ, δέσποτα Παιάν. Cf. Nikand. *Ther.* 439, 686.

25. C.I.G. 8385. καλὸς νεανίας. κῶμος.· παιάν.

Orph. *Hymn.*

VIII, 12 φωσφόρος, αἰολόμικτε, φερέσβιε, κάρπιμε, Παιάν.

XI, 11 κοσμοκράτωρ, αὐξητά, φαεσφόρε, κάρπιμε, Παιάν.

LII, 11 Παιὰν θυρσεγχής, ὑποκόλπιε . . . Βάσσαιρε.

26. *Iliad*, XI, 338. Ἀγαστροφον . . . Παιονίδην.

Pausan. V, 1, 3. Παίονα . . . τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι.

27. Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* XIII, 2. ἀράμενός σε ῥίψω ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸν Παιῶνα ἰάσασθαί σε τὸ κρανίον συντριβέντα.

Lucian, *Tragopod.*

143 ἦν οὔτε Παιὰν φαρμάκοις νικᾶν σθένει,
παντὸς ἱατρὸς τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν,
οὐ παῖς ὁ Φοῖβου πολυμαθὴς Ἀσκληπιός.

Apoll. Rhod. IV.

1511 οὐδ' εἰ Παιήων, εἴ μοι θέμις ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν
φαρμάσσοι.

Aelian, *Agr. Epist.* 15, ἔσται δέ σοι ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος θεὸς καὶ Παιών,
καὶ ἀπολύσει σε τῆς ἀκράτου χολῆς.

28. Aristoph. *Plut.* 634 ἀντὶ γὰρ τυφλοῦ
ἐξωμμάτῳ καὶ λελάμπρυνται κόρας,
'Ἀσκληπιοῦ παιῶνος εὐμενοῦς τυχών.

29. Plut. *Moral.* 118 C. παιωνίοις λόγον φαρμάκοις.

Cf. Suidas, *sub. tit.* Θεόπομπος (from Aelian, cf. *sub. tit.* φθόη)
ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁρέγει οἱ τὴν παιώνιον χεῖρα.

Krates, *Θηρία, Frag.* 15.

3 ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὰ πάμπαν
τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρῶτον ἄξω τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἐπὶ κίωνων ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ παιωνίου
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὥσθ' ἐκάστῳ ρεύσεται
εἰς τὴν πύελον.

Phot. *Lex. sub tit.* παιῶνας· ἱατρούς. παιωνεῖον· ἱατρεῖον, θερα-
πεντήριον ἢ σωτήριον φάρμακον.

Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* IX, 8, 6. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὥσπερ
ἐπίθετα καὶ πόρρωθεν οἶον τὴν παιωνίαν, οἱ δὲ γλυκυσίδην καλοῦσι, νύκτωρ
κελεύουσιν ὀρύττειν.

Anth. Pal. IX, 420. χρυσὸς Ἑρωτος ἀεὶ παιώνιος.

XI, 382, 5. ἦλθε δὲ Καλλίγνωτος ὁ Κώιος, ὁ πλατυλέσχης,
τῆς παιωνιάδος πληθόμενος σοφίης.

XIV, 55, 5. φιλεῖ δέ με παιωνίη χεῖρ.

CHAP. II. THE PAEAN A HYMN USED TO AVERT ILLS.

30. *Etym. magn.* 657, 3 (Phot. *Bibl.* 985, Proklos.). παιάν,
ὕμνος ᾧδης ἐπὶ ἀφέσει λοιμοῦ ᾗδόμενος, ὡς τὸ [*Iliad* I, 473]. οὕτω γὰρ
ιδίως αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι προσέφερον, ὡς αἰτίοις τῶν
λοιμικῶν παθῶν . . . παύ—πανάν—παιάν—ὁ καταπαύων ὕμνος τὸν
λοιμόν. παιών—ὁ παύων τὰς νόσους καὶ τὰ λυποῦντα.

Macrob. *Sat.* I, 17, 16. Παιὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ παύειν τὰς ἀνίας.

Schol. Hom. *Iliad*, I, 473 (Eustath. 137, 4, 1275, 38 ; Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 636 ; Schol. Plato, *Symph.* Bekk. 373.) ὕμνοι . . . ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμοῦ ᾄδόμενοι.

Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1102 (cf. 1037 ; Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 874, Hesych. *sub voc.*). ὕμνος ᾄδόμενος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ καταπαύσει τῶν κακῶν (ἢ δεινῶν τινῶν).

31. Homer, *Iliad*,

I, 472 οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο,
καλὸν αἰείδοντες παιήονα, κόουροι Ἀχαιῶν,
μέλποντες Ἑκάεργον.

Cf. the line quoted by Clement of Alexandria.

μέλπετε, ὦ παῖδες, Ἑκάεργον καὶ Ἑκαέργην.

32. Plut. *de mus.* 1146 C. καὶ Θαλήταν τὸν Κρήτα, ὃν φασι κατὰ τι πυθόχορστον Λακεδαιμονίους παραγενόμενον διὰ μουσικῆς ἰάσασθαι ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοῦ κατασχόντος λοιμοῦ τὴν Σπάρτην, καθάπερ φησὶ Πρατίνας. Cf. Paus. I, 14, 4.

33. Eurip. *Herc. Fur.*

820 ὦναξ Παιάν,
ἀπότροπος γένοιό μοι πημάτων.

34. Aristoph. *Acharn.*

1211 Δ. ἰὼ ἰὼ Παιὰν Παιάν.
Δ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τήμερον Παιώνια.

Schol. Παιώνια. ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι, Ἀπόλλωνι ἴσως ἀνακειμένη. καὶ παιώνιον ἱατρεῖον, θεραπευτήριον, ἢ σωτήριον φάρμακον

35. Aischyl. *Agam.*

1198 καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκου πῆγμα γενναίως παγὲν
παιώνιον γένοιτο ;

36. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.*

4 πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμαμάτων γέμει,
ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

186 παιὰν δὲ λάμπει στονόεσσά τε γῆρυς ὄμανλος.

37. Epiktet. *Diss.* III, 10, 4. καὶ τούτους τοὺς στίχους κατέχειν χρηστικῶς, οὐχ ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφωνῶμεν, ὡς διὰ τοῦ Παιὰν Ἀπολλόν.

38. Eurip. *Ion*. 902 οἶμοι μοι· καὶ νῦν ἔρρει
 πτανοῖς ἀρπασθεῖς θοῖνα παῖς
 σὸς καὶ ἐμὸς τλάμων,
 σὺ δὲ κιθάρα κλάζεις
 παιᾶνας μέλπων.
 ὦή, τὸν Λατοῦς αὐδῶ.

39. F.H.G. II, 282. From the Life of Telestes by Aristoxenos of Tarentum. τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας γενόμενον ἄτοπον· ἐκστάσεις γὰρ γίγνεσθαι τοιαύτας, ὥστε ἐνίοτε καθημένας καὶ δειπνούσας ὡς καλοῦντος τινὸς ὑπακούειν, εἴτα ἐκπηδᾶν ἀκατασχέτους γιγνομένας, καὶ τρέχειν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως. μαντευομένοις δὲ τοῖς Δοκροῖς καὶ Ῥηγίνοις περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πάθους, εἰπείν τὸν θεὸν, παιᾶνας ᾄδειν ἑαρινοὺς [δωδεκατης] ἡμέρας ξ'. ὅθεν πολλοὺς γενέσθαι παιανογράφους ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

Porphry, *Vita Pythag.* 33. τὰς ψυχὰς δὲ νοσοῦντας παρεμυθεῖτο . . . τοὺς δὲ μουσικῇ. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλη καὶ πρὸς νόσους σωμαίων παιῶνια, ἃ ἐπᾶδων ἀνίστη τοὺς κάμνοντας.

Iamblichos, *Vita Pyth.* XXXV, p. 110: ἤπτετο δὲ περὶ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὥραν τῆς τοιαύτης μελωδίας . . . καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνου κρούοντες συνῆδον παιῶνάς τινας δι' ὧν εὐφραίνεσθαι καὶ ἐμμελεῖς καὶ ἔγρυστοι γίνεσθαι ἐδόκουν.

Zosim. *Hist. nov.* II, 5 (At the celebration of the *Ludi saeculares*). ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ τρεῖς ἐννέα παῖδες ἐπιφανεῖς . . . ὕμνους ᾄδουσι τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ παιᾶνας, δι' ὧν αἱ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους σφύζονται πόλεις.

II, 6

καὶ ἀειδόμενοί τε Λατῖνοι

παιᾶνες κούρουσι κόρησί τε νηδὸν ἔχουιν
 ἀθανάτων.

40. Eurip. *Iph. Taur.*

1403 ναῦται δ' ἐπηυφήμησαν εὐχαῖσιν κόρης
 παιᾶνα, γυμνὰς ἐκ χερῶν ἐπωμίδας.

CHAP. III. THE PAEAN A HYMN USED BEFORE IMPORTANT UNDERTAKINGS.

41. Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1102. παιάν' ὕμνος ᾄδόμενος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ καταπαύσει τῶν κακῶν.

Schol. Homer, *Iliad*, I, 473. οὔτε Ἀπόλλωνα οὔτε τὸν ἱατρὸν τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὕμνον. παιῶν γὰρ καὶ παιὰν ὕμνοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμοῦ ᾄδόμενοι, πολλάκις καὶ προσδοκωμένου τοῦ δεινοῦ.

Eustathios, 137, 40. ἔστι δὲ παιῶν ὕμνος τις, φασίν, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ παύσει λοιμοῦ, ὡς ἄρτι, ᾄδόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παύσει πολέμου, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον φανήσεται παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ποιητῇ· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ προσδοκωμένου τινὸς δεινοῦ ᾄδόμενος.

42. Thucyd. VI, 32. εὐχὰς δὲ τὰς νομιζομένας πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς οὐ κατὰ ναὺν ἐκάστην, ξύμπαντες δὲ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐποιοῦντο, κρατῆράς τε κεράσαντες παρ' ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα . . . ξυνεπηύχοντο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμιλος ὁ ἐκ τῆς γῆς . . . παιωνίσαντες δὲ καὶ τελεώσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἀνήγοντο.

43. Thucyd. VII, 75. δεδιότας . . ἀπιέναι, ἀντὶ δ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεον. πάλιν τούτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμᾶσθαι.

44. Aristid. I, 374, 10. τὰς ναῦς ἀπεστέλλομεν παιᾶνας ᾄδοντες καὶ κρατῆρας ἴσταντες . .

45. Xen. *Anab.* III, 2, 9. ἐκ τούτου ᾄξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν.

Xen. *Anab.* IV, 8, 16. εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο.

46. Plato, *Critias*, 108 C. καὶ τὸν Παῖωνά τε καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἐπικαλούμενον . . .

47. Aisch. *Agam.*

146 ἰήιον δ' ἐπανακαλῶ Παῖαν', ἰή,
μή τινας ἀντιπνόους Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἔχειρήδας αὔρας
τεύξῃ.

48. Tim. Soph. *Lex. Plat. s.v.* ; (*Etym. Mag.* 657, 18 ; Suidas, *s.v.*) παιανίσαι· τὸν Παῖα·να ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. ἦν δὲ ἕθος καὶ [ἐπὶ] ἔργον ἀρχομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦτο λέγειν.

49. Xen. *Anab.* IV, 3, 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅσασαι. (After this, the divisions separate for battle.)

50. Xen. *Anab.* IV, 3, 29. παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους.

51. Xen. *Hellen.* II, 4, 17. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἑνναλίον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν . . . τιμωρόμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας . . .

IV, 2, 19. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκενάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην.

52. Xen. *Cyrop.* VII, 1, 9. παιᾶνα ἐξάρξω, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπείγεσθε.

VII, 1, 25. ἐξῆρχε παιᾶνα, συνεπήχησε δὲ πᾶς ὁ στρατός. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑνναλίῳ τε ἅμα ἐπηλάαζαν καὶ ἐξανίσταται ὁ Κύρος . . .

53. Xen. *Anab.* I, 8, 17. ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίους.

54. Xen. *Anab.* V, 2, 14. ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἑνναλίῳ ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλίται.

55. Xen. *Anab.* VI, 5, 27. ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠλάαζον καὶ ἅμα τὰ δόρατα καθίεσαν.

56. Diod. Sic. XIV, 23, 1. οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες παιανίσαντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχῇ προῆγον . . . ἔθεον κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν.

57. Diod. Sic. V, 34, 5. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις, πρὸς ῥυθμὸν ἐμβαίνουσι καὶ παιᾶνας ᾄδουσιν, ὅταν ἐπίωσι τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις.

XIII, 15, 3. οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ παιανίσαντες ἔπλεον.

58. Thucyd. I, 50. ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν.

59. Thucyd. VII, 83. οἱ Συρακόσιοι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν.

60. Thucyd. Schol. I, 50. δύο παιᾶνας ᾗδον οἱ Ἑλληνες, πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τῷ Ἀρει, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπίπλουν λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἄρξαι τοῦ πολέμου. ὅπερ δέον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας εἰπεῖν, ὕστερον λέγει.

Schol. IV, 43. δύο παιᾶνες ἦσαν, Ἐννάλιος, ὅτε ἦρχον, ὃς καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἕτερος, ὅτε ἐνίκων.

61. Aisch. *Pers.* 392. οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ
παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουσιν σεμνὸν Ἑλλήνες τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχῃ θράσει.

Julian, *Orat.* I, 36 B. ἔφευγε καρτερῶς ἐκπλαγεὶς τὸν κτύπον τῶν ὀπλων, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐννάλιον παιᾶνα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπαλαλαζόντων ἀδεῶς ἀκούων.

62. Plut. *Lycurg.* 22 ; p. 53 E. τοὺς αὐλητὰς αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευε τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος· ἅμα δ' ἐξῆρχεν ἐμβατηρίου παιᾶνος . . . Cf. Pollux, *Onom.* IV, 78 ; Plutarch. *de mus.* 1140 C ; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* II, 127.

63. Aul. Gell. I, 11. Auctor historiae Graecae gravissimus Thucydides, Lacedaemonios, summos bellatores, non cornuum tubarumve signis, sed tibiæ modulis in proeliis esse usos refert, non prorsus ex aliquo ritu religionum . . . sed contra, ut moderatiores modulatioresque fierent, quod tibicinas numeris [vis] temperatur. . . . Cretenses quoque proelia ingredi solitos memoriae datum est praecinente ac praemoderante cithara gressibus . . .

64. Thucyd. V, 70. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύννοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν νόμῳ ἐγκαθεστῶτων.

65. Xen. *Resp. Laced.* XIII, 8. ὅταν γὰρ ὁρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιαζήται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι.

66. Cicero, *Tuscul. disp.* II, 16, 37. Militiam vero—nostram dico, non Spartiatarum, quorum procedit agmen ad tibiam nec adhibetur ulla sine anapaestis pedibus hortatio— . . .

67. Thucyd. VII, 44. μέγιστον . . . ἐβλαψεν καὶ ὁ παιανισμός· . . . ὅσον Δωρικὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν ὁπότε παιανίσαιαν, φόβον παρέιχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

68. Aisch. *Sept.*

267 κάμῶν ἀκούσας' εὐγμάτων, ἔπειτα σὺ
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱρὸν εὐμενῇ παιάνισον,
 Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,
 θάρσος φίλοις, λύονσα πολέμιον φόβον.

Schol. διέσπειλεν τὸν ὀλολυγμὸν τοῦ παιῶνος. ὥσπερ γὰρ μόνῃ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, δαίμονι οὔσῃ πολεμικῇ, ὀλολύζουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις θεοῖς παωνίζουσιν.

69. Xen. *Cyr.* III, 3, 58. ἐξῆρχεν αὐτὸς ὁ Κῦρος παιᾶνα τὸν νομιζόμενον· οἱ δὲ θεοσεβῶς πάντες συνεπήχθησαν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ . . .
 . . . ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παιὰν ἐγένετο, ἅμα πορευόμενοι . . .

70. Strabo, IX, p. 422, (from Ephoros). κατατοξεύοντος δ' ἐπι-
 κελεύειν ἱε παιάν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν παιανισμὸν οὕτως ἐξ ἔθους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς
 μέλλουσι συμπίπτειν εἰς παράταξιν.

71. Kallim. *Hymn. Apoll.*

97 ἰῆ ἰῆ Παιῶν' ἀκούομεν, εἵνεκα τοῦτο
 Δελφός τοι πρότιστον ἐφύμνιον εὔρετο λαός . . .
 102 ἐπηύτησε δὲ λαός
 ἰῆ ἰῆ Παιῶν ἱε βέλος.

72. Timotheos, XIII.

Σύ τ' ὦ τὸν αἰὲ πόλον οὐράνιον
 ἀκτίσι λαμπραῖς Ἄλιε βάλλων
 πέμψον ἑκαβόλον ἐχθροῖς βέλος
 σᾶς ἀπὸ νευρᾶς, ὦ ἱε Παιάν.

Δούρις, *Etym. Mag.* 469, 41. Ἰήμος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγεται, ὥς μὲν Δούρις, ὅτι ἐν ἀγκάλαις βαστάσασα τὸν ἥλιον ἡ Λητώ, ἐνεκελεύσατο εἰποῦσα, Ἰήμει παιῶν. ἔστιν οὖν τὸ ἰήμος, ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ τοξότης.

73. Athen. 701 C. Λητώ . . . εἶπεν ἱε παῖ, = ἄφιε παῖ καὶ βάλε παῖ, (from Klearchos the pupil of Aristotle, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* II, 318).

74. Eurip. *Phoen.*

1102 παιὼν δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγες ἐκελάδουν ὁμοῦ
ἐκείθεν ἔκ τε τειχέων ἡμῶν πάρα.

75. Hesychios. ἀλαλάζει · ἐπινικίως ἡχεί. ἐλελεῦ · ἐπιφώνημα
πολεμικόν. οἱ δὲ, προαναφώνησις παιανισμοῦ.

76. Aristoph. *Pax.*

453 Chor. ἡμῖν δ' ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ' ἰὴ παιῶν ἰή.
Tr. ἄφελε τὸ παίειν, ἀλλ' ἰὴ μόνον λέγε.

77. Xen. *Anab.* I, 10, 10. ὥς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας
καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον.

Xen. *Anab.* IV, 3, 31. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν
δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς.

Thucyd. IV, 43. καὶ παιωνίσαντες ἐπῆσαν αὐθις.

IV, 96. παιωνίσαντες ἐπῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.

78. Xen. *Anab.* I, 8, 18. καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἶον τῷ
Ἑνναλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι.

79. [Plato], *Epist.* 348 B. παιωνά τινα ἀναβοήσαντες βάρβαρον καὶ
πολεμικόν.

[Lys.], *Epitaph.* 101, § 38. ἀκούοντες δ' ἐν ταυτῷ συμμεμιγμένου
Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ παιῶνος.

Plut. *Crassus*, 26; 560 A. οἱ πολέμοι προσεφέροντο κλαγγῇ καὶ
παιῶνι.

Plut. *Themist.* 8; 115 E. βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχονσί τι δεινόν.

Polyb. II, 29, 6. οἷς ἅμα τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου συμπαυανίζοντος
τηλικαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι κραυγὴν . .

Polyb. III, 43, 8. τῶν δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον βαρβάρων παιανιζόντων
καὶ προκαλουμένων τὸν κίνδυνον.

Schol. Plato, *Pol.* II, 383 B. παιανίζειν = ἀλαλάζειν.

Cf. Livy, XXI, 28, Obscursabant in ripam cum variis ululati-
bus cantuque moris sui.

80. Cf. Strabo, VII, *Frag.* 140, ed. Kramer (Berl. 1847), II, 86. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ παιανισμὸς τῶν Θρακῶν τιτανισμὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεται κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἐν παιᾷσι φωνῆς καὶ οἱ Τιτᾶνες ἐκλήθησαν Πελαγόνες.

81. Macrob. *Sat.* I, 17, 16. Cum ergo sint hujusce sideris, id est solis, duo maximi effectus, alter quo calore temperato juvat mortalium vitam, alter quo jactu radiorum non numquam pestiferum virus immittit, duo eademque cognomina circa singulos effectus propriis enuntiationibus signant appellantes deum Ἴδιον atque Παιᾶνα; quae cognomina utrique effectui apta sunt, ut sit Ἰήσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰᾶσθαι, id est a sanando, et Παιᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παίνειν τὰς ἀνίας et rursus Ἰήσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰέναι ab immittendo,—βέλος ἐχευενκὲς ἐφιεῖς, et Παιᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παίνειν a feriendo. (17) Obtinuit tamen ut, cum sanitatem dari sibi precantur, ἰῆ Παιᾶν per η litteram enuntient, id est *medere Paean*; cum autem ἰε Παιᾶν per ε litteram dicunt cum aspiratione prioris litterae, significant hoc dici in aliquem adversa precatione βάλε Παιᾶν, id est *inmitte feriendo*; qua voce ferunt Latonam usam, cum Apollinem hortaretur impetum Pythonis incessere sagittis, cujus rei naturalem rationem suo loco reddam. (18) Hanc vocem, id est ἰε Παιᾶν, confirmasse fertur oraculum Delphicum Atheniensibus petentibus opem dei adversus Amazonas Theseo regnante. Namque inituros bellum iussit his ipsis verbis semet ipsum auxiliatorem invocare hortarique.

CHAPTER IV. THE PAEAN A HYMN USED IN WORSHIP.

82. Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.*

272 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς προσάγοιεν ἱηπαιήονι δῶρα
ἀνθρώπων κλυτὰ φύλα, σὺ δὲ φρένας ἀμφιγεγῆθῳς . . .

83. Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.*

500 ἔρχεσθαι θ' ἄμ' ἐμοί, καὶ ἱηπαιήον' ἀείδειν.

- 513 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἄντο,
 βάν ῥ' ἔμεν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ, Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,
 515 φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχω[ν, ἐρ]ατὸν κιθαρίζων
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο
 Κρήτες πρὸς Πυθῶ, καὶ ἰηπαιήον' αἶδον,
 οἰοί τε Κρητῶν παιήνες, οἰσί τε Μοῦσα
 519 ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.

84. Apoll. Rhod. II.

- 701 ἀμφὶ δὲ δαιομένοις εὐρὺν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο,
 καλὸν Ἰηπαιήον', Ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον
 μελπόμενοι· σὺν δέ σφιν εὖς πάς Οἰάγροιο
 Βιστονίη φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἦρχεν ἀοιδῆς·
 705 ὥς ποτε πετραίης ὑπὸ δειράσι Παρνησοῖο
 Δελφίνην τόξοισι πελώριον ἐξενάριξε,
 κοῦρος ἐὼν ἔτι γυμνός, ἔτι πλοκάμοισι γεγηθώς.
 ἰλήκοις· αἰεὶ τοι, ἄναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι,
 αἶεν ἀδῆλῃτοι· τὼς γὰρ θέμις. οἰόθι δ' αὐτῇ
 710 Λητῶ Κοιογένεια φίλαις ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἀφάσσει.
 πολλὰ δὲ Κωρύκiai Νύμφαι, Πλείστοιο θύγατραι,
 θαρσύνεσκον ἔπεσσιν, Ἰήιε κεκληγνῖαι·
 ἔνθεν δὴ τόδε καλὸν ἐφύμνιον ἔπλετο Φοῖβῳ.

Schol. Ap. Rhod. I, 537. καθάπερ ἡίθεοι ἐν Δελφοῖς
 περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χορὸν στήσαντες, πρὸς τὸ τῆς κιθάρας
 μέλος ἡρμωσμένως κροτοῦσιν τοῖς ποσίν.

85. Strabo, IX, 3, 10. ἀγῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀρχαῖος ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρωδῶν
 ἐγενήθη παιᾶνα ἀδόντων εἰς τὸν θεόν.

Philostr. *Imag.* 371, 13. οὔτε θύει Πυθοῖ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὔτε παιᾶνας
 ἀπάγει τῷ θεῷ.

86. Schol. Ap. Rhod. II, 702. ἰῇ Παιήων ἡ διὰ τὸ
 πέμπειν τὰ βέλη, ἡ ὅτι ἰάσεως αἷτιος ὁ θεός.

II, 712. ὅτε ἐτόξευσε τὸν δράκοντα, ἐπεφώνουν αἱ νύμφαι τοῦ βάλλειν
 αὐτὸν, ἰῇ ἰῇ βέλος· ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἐφύμνιον ἐγένετο ἰηπαιήων.

Terentian. Maur. *de syllab.*

1586 Cum puer infestis premeret Pythona sagittis

Apollo, Delphici feruntur accolae

Hortantes acuisse animum bellantis . . .

ἰὴ Παιάν, ἰὴ Παιάν, ἰὴ Παιάν.

87. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 71. Delphic inscription, inv. no. 445; *circa*. 200 B. C.

ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν . . . ἐπειδὴ Κλε[οχά]ρης Βίωνος Ἀθηναῖος, φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος, δήμου Κικυννέως, ποιητῆς μελῶν, ἐπιδαμήσας εἰς τὰν πόλιν, γέγραφε τῷ θεῷ ποθοδίον τε καὶ παιᾶνα καὶ ὕμνον, ὅπως αἰδωντι οἱ παῖδες τᾷ θυσίᾳ τῶν Θεοξενίων· ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι τᾷ πόλει τὸμ μὲν χοροδιδάσκαλον τὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γινόμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς παῖδας τό τε ποθοδίον καὶ τὸμ παιᾶνα καὶ τὸν ὕμνον, καὶ εἰσάγειν τοῖς Θεοξενίοις, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις φαίνεται τιμῶσα τοὺς ἄξιόν τι τοῦ θεοῦ γράφοντας. κ. τ. λ.

88. Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* I, 516. οἱ Κεῖοι Δηλιακὸν παιᾶνα ἡξίουν τὸν ποιητὴν γράψαι . . . μέλλοντος γὰρ Κεῖοις γράφειν προσοδικὸν παιᾶνα, καὶ ὑπογούου ὄντος τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἔδει συντετελέσθαι τὸ ποίημα τὸ Δηλιακὸν . . . (Occasion:—the celebration of a victory).

89. Plato, *Ion*, 534 D. Τύννιχος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν πρόποι' ἐποίησε ποίημα, ὅτου τις ἂν ἀξιώσκει μνησθῆναι, τὸν δὲ παιῶνα, ὃν πάντες ἔδουσι, σχεδόν τι πάντων μελῶν κάλλιστον, ἀτέχνως, ὅπερ αὐτὸς λέγει, εὖρημά τι Μοισᾶν.

Porphry, *de abstin.* II, 18. τὸν γοῦν Αἰσχύλον φασί, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀξιούντων εἰς τὸν θεὸν γράψαι παιᾶνα, εἰπεῖν ὅτι βέλτιστα Τυννίχῃ πεποιήται· παραβαλλόμενον δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου ταυτὸν πείσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν τοῖς καινοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα· ταῦτα γὰρ καίπερ ἀφελῶς πεποιημένα, θεία νομίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καινὰ περιέργως εἰργασμένα θαυμάζεσθαι μὲν, θείου δὲ δόξαν ἦττον ἔχειν.

90. Eurip. *Ion*. 124, 141.

ὦ Παιάν, ὦ Παιάν, εὐαίων εὐαίων εἴης, ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ.

91. Eurip. *Herc. Fur.*

685 οὐπω καταπαύσομεν
 Μούσας, αἶ μ' ἐχόρευσαν.
 παιᾶνα μὲν Δηλιάδες
 ὑμνοῦσ', ἀμφὶ πύλας τὸν
 Λατοῦς εὐπαιδα γόνον
 690 εἰλίσσουσαι καλλίχοροι·
 παιᾶνας δ' ἐπὶ σοῖς μελάβροις
 κύκνος ὥς γέρων ἀοιδὸς
 πολῶν ἐκ γενύων
 κελαδήσω· τὸ γὰρ εὖ
 695 τοῖς ὕμνοισιν ὑπάρχει,
 Διὸς ὁ παῖς.

92. Athen. 424 F. ὠρχοῦντο δὲ οὗτοι περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νεὼν τοῦ Δηλίου τῶν πρώτων ὄντες Ἀθηναίων.

93. Lucian, *de salt.* 16. ἐν Δήλῳ δέ γε, οὐδὲ αἱ θυσίαι ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως, ἀλλὰ σὺν ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ μουσικῆς ἐγίγοντο. παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ὑπ' αὐλῷ καὶ κιθάρᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι προκριθέντες ἐξ αὐτῶν.

94. Xen. *Hellen.* IV, 5, 11. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἀεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα.

95. Xen. *Agesil.* 2, 17. οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει.

96. Athen. IV, 139 D (The first days of the Hyakinthia were days of mourning) καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾄδουσιν.

97. Hesych. τελεσίερον παιᾶνα· τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελουμένων ἱερῶν.

98. Xen. *Anab.* VI, 1, 11. οἱ Μαντιεῖς . . . ἐξοπλισάμενοι . . . αὐλόμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις.

99. Athen. 678 C. ἀδόντων . . . τοὺς Διονυσιοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας.

100. Strabo, X, 4, 18. τὴν τε ὄρχησιν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιχωριάζουσιν καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ἀδομένους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων Κρητικὰ καλεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

101. Suidas. γυμνοπαιδία· χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων ἐν Σπάρτῃ εἰς τίμην τῶν ἐν Θυρέαις ἀποθανόντων Σπαρτιατῶν.

102. Etym. Mag. 243, 3. γυμνοπαιδία, ἐορτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων· ἐν ἣ παῖδες ἦδον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παιᾶνας γυμνοὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πύλαιαν πεσόντας. γυμνάσαι λέγεται καὶ εἰς φῶς ἀγαγεῖν.

103. Menand. Rhetor. I ; (Spengel, III, 331, 21). τοὺς μὲν γὰρ [ὑμνοὺς] εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα παιᾶνας καὶ ὑπορχήματα ὀνομάζομεν.

104. Verg. *Aen.* VI.

657 Vescentis laetumque choro Paeana canentis
Inter odoratum lauri nemus.

Serv. *ad loc.* Paeana proprie Apollinis laudes, quod nunc congruit propter "lauri nemus"; abusive omnium deorum, sicut orgia proprie Liberi, abusive omnium deorum sacra.

105. Athen. 628 A. τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες.

106. Theogn.

776 ἵνα τοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ
ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ' ἐκατόμβας,
τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ (τ' ἡδ') ἐρατῇ θαλίῃ
παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῇσί τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν.

107. Eurip. *Iph. Aul.*

1467 οὐκ ἐὼ στάζειν δάκρυ·
ὕμεις δ' ἐπευφημήσατ', ὦ νεάνιδες,
παιᾶνα τῇμῃ ἔυμφορᾷ Διὸς κόρη
Ἄρτεμιν.

108. Diog. Laer. II, 42. (Of Sokrates) ἀλλὰ καὶ παιᾶνα κατὰ τινας ἐποίησεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,

Δήλι' Ἀπολλὸν χαῖρε, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλεινῷ.

109. Xen. *Hellen.* IV, 7, 4. οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ δημοσίας πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ παιᾶνα.

110. Pindar, *Vita*, p. 9 (cf. p. 4.) ὁ γοῦν Πᾶν ὁ θεὸς ὤφθη μεταξὺ τοῦ Κιθαिरῶνος καὶ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος ᾄδων παιᾶνα Πινδάρου.

111. Heliodor. *Aeth.* I, 10, p. 13. Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων, ὅτε τὴν ναῦν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πέμπουσιν, ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἐφθβεύων, ᾄσας δὲ τὸν εἰωθότα παιᾶνα τῇ θεῷ . . .

112. Pindar, *Frag.* 139.

ἐντὶ μὲν χρυσалаκάτου τεκέων Λατοῦς αἰοδαί
ῶραι παιανίδες.

113. Aristoph, *Aves*, 1761, *Lysistr.* 1291. ἀλαλαὶ ἢ παιὼν ἢ. *Thesm.* 311. ταῦτ' εὐχεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐταῖς τὰγαθά. ἢ παιὼν ἢ παιῶν. χαίρωμεν.

Pax, 453. cf. 112 *supra*.

114. Cf. Appendix I, § 2.

115. Athen. 701 E. τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις εὐξάμενος, ἐπισπείσας τοῦ οἴνου καὶ δοῦς κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον <τὸ> ἐπιχώριον τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἀκράτου τῷ διδόντι ἐκπιεῖν παιδὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ὑγίειαν παιᾶνα ᾄσας τὸν ποιηθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρίφρονος τοῦ Σικυννίου τόνδε . . . (cf. Appendix I, § 2).

116. Bull. Corr. Hell. XIV, 649. οἱ παιανισταὶ τοῦ Μουνιχίου Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

117. C.I.A. III, 5. καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ παιάνων τ[ῶν κατὰ τὴν] ὁδὸν μεθέξειν.

118. Plut. *de pyth. orac.* 24; 406 C. ἔτι δ' ὕμνους θεῶν εὐχὰς παιᾶνας ἐν μέτροις ἐποιοῦντο καὶ μέλεσιν.

119. *Cleom.* 16; 812 A. θύων καὶ παιᾶνας ᾄδων αὐτὸς ἐστεφανωμένος.

120. *Aratus*, 53; 1051 E. τὸν νεκρὸν ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ λευχειμοῦντες ὑπὸ παιάνων καὶ χορῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνήγον.

121. Xen. *Anab.* VI, 1, 5. ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον μὲν Θράκες καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις . . .

122. Athen. 626 B. οἱ παῖδες . . . ᾄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμον τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς . . . ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοῦσι.

123. Polyb. IV, 20, 8. παρὰ μόνοις Ἀρκάσι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ᾄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοῦσι.

123 a. Plato, *Symp.* 177 A. ἄλλοις μὲν τισι θεῶν ὕμνους καὶ παιῶνας, (but not to Eros).

124. Aristid. *Orat.* I, 505. τῷ μὲν Διονύσῳ . . . τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασι θεοῖς, σπένδοντας καὶ θύοντας καὶ παιωνίζοντας καὶ στεφανηφοροῦντας καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μὴδὲν ἐλλείποντας.

125. Aisch. *Choeph.*

342 ἀντὶ δὲ θρήνων ἐπιτυμβιδίων
παιὰν μελάρθοις ἐν βασιλείοις
νεοκράτα φίλον κομίσειεν.

126. Soph. *Trach.*

210 ὁμοῦ δὲ παιᾶνα παιᾶν'
ἀνάγετ', ὦ παρθένοι,
βοᾶτε τὰν δμόσπορον
Ἄρτεμιν Ὀρτυγίαν.

Schol. ἀνυμνεῖτε . . . τὸν σωτήρα καὶ παιᾶνα Ἀπόλλωνα.

Cf. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1350 ἀνάγετ' ἀνάγετε κωκυτόν.

127. Eurip. *Iph. Taur.*

ἀντιψάλμους ψῆδ' ὕμνον τ'
180 Ἀσκήταν σοι βάρβαρον ἀχάν,
δέσποιν', ἐξαυδάσω, τὰν ἐν
θρήνοις μοῦσαν νέκυσι μελομένηαν
τὰν ἐν μολπαῖς Ἰδίδας ὕμνεϊ
δίχα παιάνων.

128. *Cycl.* 664. καλὸς γ' ὁ παιάν. μέλπε μοι τόνδ', ὦ Κύκλωψ.

129. Aisch. *Choeph.*

150 ὑμᾶς δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος,
 παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξανδωμένας.

130. Eurip. *Alc.*

422 ἄλλ' ἐκφορὰν γὰρ τοῦδε θήσομαι νεκροῦ,
 πάρεστε καὶ μένοντες ἀντηχήσατε
 παιᾶνα τῷ κάτωθεν ἀσπόνδῳ θεῷ.

131. Aisch. *Frag.* 156.

μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἐρᾷ,
 οὐδ' ἂν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων ἄνοις,
 οὐδ' ἔστι βωμὸς οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται.

132. Aisch. *Sept.*

867 ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης
 τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἑρινύος
 ἀχεῖν Ἄιδου τ'
 ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν.

133. Aisch. *Agam.*

644 τοιῶνδε μέντοι πημάτων σεσαγμένον
 πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἑρινύων.

134. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 875, 891. Ἰήιε Παιάν. Cf. Appendix I, § 1.

Equit. 407 τὸν Ἰουλίον τ' ἂν οἶομαι, γέροντα πυροπίπην,
 ἡσθέντ' ἱηπαιωνίσαι καὶ Βακχέβακχον ᾄσαι.

135. Eurip. *Troad.*

122 πρῶραι ναῶν ὠκείαι,
 Ἴλιον ἱερὰν αἱ κόπαις ἅλα
 διὰ πορφυροειδῇ καὶ λίμνας
 125 Ἑλλάδος εὐόρμους
 αὐλῶν παιᾶνι στυγνῷ
 συρίγγων τ' εὐφθόγγῳ φωνᾷ
 βαίνουσai πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου

136. Eurip. *Troad*.

578 ἜΚ. ὦμοι. ἌΝΔ. τί παιᾶν' ἐμῶν στενάξεις
 ἜΚ. αἰᾶι. ἌΝΔ. τόνδ' ἀλγέων
 ἜΚ. ὦ Ζεῦ. ἌΝΔ. καὶ ξυμφορᾶς
 ἜΚ. τέκεα. ἌΝΔ. πρίν ποτ' ἦμεν.

137. Eurip. *Helen*.

176 χάριτας ἴν' ἐπὶ δάκρυσι
 παρ' ἐμέθεν ὑπὸ μέλαθρα νύχια [παιᾶνας]
 νέκυσιν ὀλομένοις λάβῃ.

CHAP. V. ON THE FORM OF THE PAEAN USED IN WORSHIP.

138. Plut. *de mus.* 1134 C. ἦσαν δ' οἱ περὶ Θαλήταν τε καὶ
 Ξενόδομον καὶ Ξενόκριτον ποιηταὶ παιᾶνων . . .

Strabo, X, 4, 16. ψδᾶς . . . οὓς Θάλητα ἀνευρεῖν, ᾧ καὶ τοὺς
 παιᾶνας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ψδᾶς ἀνατιθέασι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν
 νομίμων.

Porphyr. *Vit. Pythag.* I, 32. τὰς . . . διατριβὰς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔωθεν
 μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐποιεῖτο, ἄρμολόμενος πρὸς λύραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωνὴν καὶ
 ᾄδων παιᾶνας ἀρχαίους τινὰς τῶν Θάλητος.

de abstin. II, 18, cf. note 89 supra.

Himerios, *Orat.* XXIII, 11. τίς λύρα, τίς κιθάρα τοῦ σοῦ στόματος
 εὐμουνστότερον τοὺς εἰς θεοὺς παιᾶνας ἐφθέγγετο.

Athen. 630 F, cf. note 152 infra.

139. Plato *Leg.* 700 B. καὶ τι ἦν εἶδος ᾧδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεοὺς, ὄνομα
 δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο . . . ἕτερον εἶδος, θρήνους δέ τις ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα
 ἐκάλεσεν· καὶ παῖωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι διθύραμβος
 λεγόμενος.

700 D. κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παῖωνας διθύραμβοις, καὶ
 αὐλῳδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρωδαῖς μιμούμενοι καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα ξυνάγοντες.

140. Eustath. 1109, 27. ὕμνον παιᾶνα, οὗ ἐπῳδὸς τὸ ἰὴ Παιάν, ὅπερ
 ἦν παιανικόν τι ἐπίρρημα.

141. Athen. 631 D. τῶν γὰρ ὕμνων οἱ μὲν ὠρχοῦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ὠρχοῦντο . . . καὶ τὸν παιᾶνα δὲ ὅτε μὲν ὅτε δὲ οὐ.

Schol. Homer, *Iliad*, XXII, 391. οὐ μόνον συμποτική καὶ μετ' ὀρχήσεως ἡ πάλαι μουσική, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς θρήνους ἐπιτηδεῖα.

142. Pollux, *Onom.*, IV, 81. ἤρμοττον δὲ πρὸς ὕμνους μὲν οἱ σπονδειακοί, πρὸς παιᾶνας δὲ οἱ Πυθικοί. τελείους δ' αὐτοὺς ὠνόμαζον, ἡῦλον δὲ τὸ ἄχορον αὐλημα, τὸ Πυθικόν

On the paeonic metre, cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* III, 8, 1409 a, 2 ff. and *Frag.* 128, 1500 a, 9 and 13; Theophrastos, *Frag.* 93; Plutarch, *de mus.* 1141 A; 1143 B and D; and Schol. on Aristoph. *Equit.* 303.

143. Plut. *de mus.* 1136 F. πολὺ τὸ σεμνόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Δωριστί . . . Παρθένεια . . . προσόδια καὶ παιᾶνες . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ Δωρίου τρόπου ἐμελωδήθησαν.

de E ap. Delph. 389 B. παιᾶνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σόφρονα μούσαν.

Schol. Pind. *Ol.* I, 26. περὶ δὲ τῆς Δωριστὶ ἁρμονίας εἴρηται ἐν παιᾶσιν, ὅτι Δώριον μέλος σεμνότατόν ἐστι.

CHAP. VI. THE SYMPOSIAC PAEAN.

144. Xen. *Cyrop.* IV, 1, 6. σπονδὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιείσθε καὶ παιᾶνα ἐξάρχεσθε.

145. Hellen. VII, 4, 36. ἡῦθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παιᾶνας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο.

146. *Symp.* 2, 1. ὡς δ' ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπεισαν καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν.

147. Xenoph. *Hellen.* VII, 2, 15. οἱ μὲν Φλειάσιοι τροπαῖον ἵσταντο λαμπρὸν παιανίζοντες.

VII, 2, 23. ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ σπείσαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, κατέδαρθον.

148. Alkman, XXII.

φοίναϊς δὲ καὶ ἐν θιάσοισιν
ἀνδρείων παρὰ δαιτυμόνεσσιν
πρέπει παιᾶνα κατάρχειν.

149. Athen. 149 C. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δειπνον σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο . . .
ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιᾶν ᾄδεται.

150. Athen. 179 D. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ δειπνῆσαι σπονδὰς τέ φησιν ποιῆσαι
καὶ τὸν θεὸν παιωνίσαντας τοῖς νομιζομένοις γέρασιν.

151. Athen. 250 B. μετὰ τὸ δειπνον ἐκείνοι μὲν τῶν Φρυνίχου καὶ
Στησιχόρου, ἔτι δὲ Πινδάρου παιάνων τῶν ναυτῶν τινὰς ἀνεληφότες ἦδον.

152. Athen. 630 F. Φιλόχορος δὲ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους
Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι,
ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ᾄδειν καθ' ἓνα <τὰ> Τυρταίου·
κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον δίδοναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας.

153. Plato, *Symp.* 176 A. σπονδὰς τε σφᾶς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἄσαντας
τὸν θεὸν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα.

154. Pherekr. *Pers. Frag.* 2, in Athen. 685 A.

ἔγχει κάπιβόα τρίτον παιῶν', ὥς νόμος ἐστίν.

155. Aisch. *Agam.*

244 ἔμελψεν. ἄγνὰ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδὰ πατρὸς
φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτμον
παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.
MSS. αἰῶνα.

156. Antiphan. *Agroec.* 5 ; *Com. Att. Frag.* II, 14, in Athen.
692 F.

Ἀρμόδιος ἐπεκαλεῖτο, παιᾶν ἦδετο,
μεγάλην Διὸς σωτήρος ἄκατον ἦρέ τις.

157. Antiphan. *Diplas.* 15 ; *Com. Att. Frag.* II, 45, in Athen.
503 E.

ἔπειτα μῆδεν τῶν ἀπηρχαιωμένων
τούτων περάνῃς, τὸν Τελαμῶνα, μῆδὲ τὸν
παιῶνα, μῆδ' Ἀρμόδιον.

158. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 615 B. ἦδον ψῆδὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κοινῶς ἅπαντες μιᾷ φωνῇ παιανίζοντες. (The first hymn when the mixing bowl is filled, and the crowns are distributed.).

159. Demosth. XVIII, 287, p. 321. κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς.

160. Demosth. XIX, 338, p. 450. οὗτος δ' ἐκείνου μὲν προῦκα-
λινδείτο, τοὺς παιᾶνας ἦδεν, ὑμῶν δ' ὑπερορᾷ.

161. Plut. *de mus.* 1147 A. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαιώνεισε, καὶ σπείσας τῷ Κρόνῳ καὶ τοὺς τούτου παισὶ σὺν θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ Μούσαις. ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἐστιωμένους.

162. Xenophanes, I.

15 σπείσαντες δὲ καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι
πρήσσειν.

163. Clem. Al. *Paedag.* II, 165. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἑλλήσιν παρὰ τὰς συμποτικὰς εὐωχίας καὶ τὰς ἐπιψεκάζουσας κύλικας Ἑβραϊκῶν κατ' εἰκόνα ψαλμῶν ᾄσμα τὸ καλούμενον σκόλιον ἦδετο· κοινῶς ἁπάντων ἅμα φωνῇ παιανιζόντων· ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐν μέρει περιελιπτόντων τὰς προπόσεις τῆς ψόδης· οἱ δὲ μουσικώτεροι αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς λύραν ἦδον.

Plut. *Thes.* 22 ; 10 A. στεφανοῦσθαι μὲν . . ἐπιφωνεῖν δὲ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, Ελελεῦ, Ἰοῦ Ἰοῦ, τοὺς παρόντας· ὧν τὸ μὲν σπεύδοντες ἀνα-
φωνεῖν καὶ παιωνίζοντες εἰώθασιν, τὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ταραχῆς ἐστί.

164. Archil. LXXVI.

αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.

165. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 713 A. αἱ γὰρ σπονδαὶ ποθοῦσιν [τὸν αὐλὸν] ἅμα τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ συνεπιφθέγγεται τῷ παιᾶνι.

166. Theogn.

761 φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἥδ' καὶ αὐλός
ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδὰς θεοῖσιν ἀρεσσάμενοι
πίνωμεν.

167. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 743 C. σπονδὰς ἐποιησάμεθα Μούσαις . . .
Ἀπόλλωνι παιανίσαντες.

168. Cf. Apollod. *περὶ θεῶν*, XX (from Porphyry in Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* I, 129, 1008). ἀκτὰς ἀπαιῶνας (in Sophokles, *Polyxena*). ἀκτὰς τῶν νεκρῶν λέγων παιῶνα οὐκ ἐχούσας.

Schol. Eurip. *Alc.* 424. παιᾶνα· θρῆνον, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ σπένδουσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς παιᾶσι.

169. Suidas. παιᾶνας ὕμνους· ὁ δὲ ἦδε τοὺς παιᾶνας οὐκ εὐτραπέλῳ τῇ γλώττῃ οὐδὲ ἔρρωμένη, ὥσπερ οὖν κάτοινος ἦδη καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίστομος ἔστι.

170. Aristoph. *Thesm.*

1034 γαμηλίῳ μὲν οὐ ξὺν
παιῶνι, δεσμίῳ δέ,
γοῶσθέ με.

171. Aisch. *Frag.* 281 (in Plato, *Polit.* 383 A).

(Apollo, at the wedding of Thetis, promising many blessings)

παιῶν' ἐπευφήμησεν εὐθυμῶν ἐμέ.

172. Cf. Schol. Plato ed. Bekker. p. 341 (Aristoxenos and Phyllis say that at marriage feasts the guests recline about one table wearing myrtle or laurel, and sing) γνώμας καὶ ἔρωτικὰ σόντονα.

173. Babrius, XXIV.

καὶ βάτραχοι δὲ λιμνάδας χοροὺς ἦγον·
οὓς εἶπε παύσας φρῦνος· οὐχὶ παιάνων
τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, φροντίδων δὲ καὶ λύπης . . .

174. Plut. *de mus.* 1136 C. Πίνδαρος δ' ἐν παιᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Νιόβης γάμοις φησί . . .

CHAP. VII. THE PAEAN OF VICTORY.

175. Athen. I, 20 F. γυμνὸς ἀλληλιμμένος ἐχόρευσε μετὰ λύρας.

176. *Vita. Soph.* § 3. (After the victory at Salamis, Sophokles) μετὰ λύρας γυμνὸς ἀλληλιμμένος τοῖς παιανίζουσι τῶν ἐπινικίων ἐξῆρχε.

177. Anton. Lib. XIII, quoting Nikander. ἐστεφάνουν καὶ μετὰ παιάνων προέπεμπον (Astygites who slew the tyrant Aspalis).

Valer. Flac. VI.

512 Victores patrium contra paeana Geloni
congeminant.

178. Aristoph. *Equit.*

1317 καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια συγκλῆναι, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἦδε γέγηθεν,
ἐπὶ καιναῖσιν δ' εὐτυχίαισιν παιωνίζεν τὸ θέατρον.

Pax, 555. ἀλλὰ πᾶς χώρει πρὸς ἔργον εἰς ἀγρὸν παιωνίσας.

Schol. παιωνίσας· εὐξάμενος· τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν ὁμολογήσας, παιὼν γάρ
ἐστιν ὕμνος εὐχαριστήριος.

179. Homer, *Iliad*, XXII.

391 νῦν δ' ἄγ' αἰείδοντες παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα, τόνδε δ' ἄγωμεν.
ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος· ἐπέφνομεν Ἑκτορα διόν,
ὦ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῶ ὧς εὐχετόωντο.

Eustath. 564, 5. λέγεται δὲ παιήων καὶ τι μέλος ἐπινίκιον, ὁποῖον
Ἀχλλεὺς ᾄδει ἀνελὼν τὸν Ἑκτορα.

1275, 18. ἀναμέλπει Παιήονα . . . τοιοῦτον σεμνῶς ὁλοδάκτυλον
[ll. 393-394]. καὶ θαυμαστέον τῆς συντομίας τὸ μέλος.

Verg. *Aen.* X, 738. Conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti.

Serv. *ad loc.* Paeana secuti paeon proprie Apollinis laus est,
sed abusive etiam aliorum dicitur; unde Pindarus opus suum,
quod et hominum et deorum continet laudes, paeanas vocavit.
quamvis quidam alium Paeana esse, alium Apollinem velint, sed
vere "Paeon" Apollo. tamen paeana carmen esse victoriae
Aeschylus docet, quod ideo Apollini dicatum est, quia malorum
avertendorum potens est; unde et ab Homero ultricem inmittens
pestilentiam inducitur.

180. Diod. Sic. XX, 16, 4. στεφανωσάμενοι καὶ παιανίσαντες κατὰ
τὸν πλοῦν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ κατέπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.

181. Plut. *Rom.* 6; 27 C. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ τρόπαιον . . .
ἐβάδιζεν ἐξάρχων ἐπινικίου παιᾶνος ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπομένη τῇ στρατίᾳ.

182. Plut. *Marcell.* 8; 302 A (The army followed). ἄδων . . μέλη καὶ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν.

183. Plut. *Lys.* 11; 439 B. μετὰ αὐλοῦ καὶ παιάνων ἀνέπλευσεν εἰς Λάμψακον.

184. Arrian *Anab.* VII, 11, 7. ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα βοῶντές τε καὶ παιανίζοντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπήεσαν.

185. Suidas. ἐξάρχοντες· οἱ δὲ Τρῶες μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ἡδονῆς παιᾶνας ἐξάρχοντες [dragged the wooden horse into the city.]

186. Aischyl. *Sept.*

634 πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς-κάπικηρυχθεῖς χθονὶ
ἀλώσιμον παιᾶν' ἐπέξιακχάσας.

Schol. ἐπινίκιον παιᾶνα ἐπαλαλάξαι.

187. Plut. *Lys.* 18; 443 C (quoting Douris). ὡς θεῷ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν . . . παιᾶνας ἤσθησαν.

τὸν Ἑλλάδος ἀγαθέας
στραταγὸν ἀπ' εὐρυχόρου
Σπάρτας ὑμνήσομεν, ὦ
ιῆ Παιάν.

188. Plut. *Tit.* 16; 378 B. θύσαντες αὐτῷ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἄδουσι παιᾶνα πεποιημένον..

[The song ends] μέλπετε κοῦραι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ' ἄμα Ῥωμαίων τε πιστίν·
ιῆ Παιάν, ὦ Τίτε σῶτερ.

189. Theophylact. *Sim. Hist.* I, 7, 6. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐπαιώνισεν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρόπαιον ἐνιδρύσατο.

IV, 15, 18. ὁ ἱερεὺς . . . παιωνίζων ἄσμα καινὸν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐπινίκιον τοῖς ὡσὶ τοῦ . . . λαοῦ τὰδε πον διηγόρευεν.

V, 11, 6. αὐτὸς δὲ διέτριβεν ἀνὰ τήν στιβάδα καταπαλλόμενός τε καὶ καταυλόμενος, ὡς ἔθος Πέρσαις καθέστηκε παιωνίζουσιν.

190. Aisch. *Pers.*

605 βοᾷ δ' ἐν ὡσὶ κέλαδος οὐ παιώνιος.

191. Herod. V, 1. νικώντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες . . . τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρέουσι οἱ Παῖονες, καὶ πολλόν τε ἐκράτησαν.

192. Thucyd. II, 91. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστερον ἐπαιάνιζόν τε ἅμα πλέοντες ὡς νενικηκότες . .

Himerios, *Orat.* II, 27. ἐπαιάνιζον δὲ ἐκατέρωθι τὰ νικητήρια.

193. Diodor. Sic. XIII, 16, 7. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὅτε μὲν ἴδοιεν τοὺς ἰδίους εὐημεροῦντας, ἐπαιάνιζον . .

194. Strabo, IX, 3, 10. ἱαμβον δὲ καὶ δάκτυλον τὸν ἐπιπαιανισμὸν τὸν [γιγνόμενον] ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ.

Schol. *Iliad*, XXII, 391. εὐρημα μὲν αὐτοῦ [Apollo] ὁ παιάν . . μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοῦ δράκοντος αὐτὸς ἐξεῦρεν.

195. Plut. *Demos.* 22 ; 856 A. ἐπισκικρτᾶν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν.

Brut. 41 ; 1004 D. περιελαύνοντες ἅμα παιᾶνι καὶ πατάγῃ διὰ χαρᾶς.

196. Dion. Hal. II, 41, 3. τῷ μὲν κατορθοῦντι τῶν σφετέρων ἐπι- κεύσει τε καὶ παιανισμῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν τὴν εἰς τὸ ἔμψυχον ἐπίδοσιν.

197. Dionys. Hal. VIII, 55, 1. σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ . . ἔθειον ἕξω καὶ ὑπὸντων ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ πάνθ' . . πράττουσι.

VIII, 65, 6. χαίροντές τε καὶ παιανίζοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεστρατο- πέδενσαν.

198. Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 35 ; 274 A. καταμινγνύουσα θρήνους καὶ δάκρυα παιᾶσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ θριάμβοις.

199. *Mar.* 20 ; 416 E. τὸν στρατὸν ἐδέξαντο παιᾶνες ἐπινίκιοι καὶ πότιοι.

200. [Plato], *Axioch.* 365 B. ὅτι δεῖ . . . εὐθύμους μόνον οὐχὶ παιανίζοντας εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἀπιέναι.

201. Epict. *Diss.* II, 6, 26. ζηλωταὶ Σωκράτους, ὅταν ἐν φυλακῇ δυνώμεθα παιᾶνας γράφειν.

IV, 4, 22. Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἦν Σωκράτης, εἰ ταῦτα ὠδύρετο ; πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ παιᾶνας ἔγραφεν ; cf. Diog. Laer. II, 42 ; supra, note 108.

202. Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 34 ; 273 E. παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους καὶ . . . ἐπαίνους.

203. Claud. *in Rufin.* I, *Praef.*

11 Omnis 'Io Paean' regio sonat.

204. Soph. *Ant.* 133. νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάξαι.

Schol. ἀλαλάξαι = παιωνίσαι · ἀλάλαγμα = ἐπινίκιος ῥῆθ'.

205. Tim. Soph. *Lex. Platon.* p. 169. παιανίσαι τὸν Παιᾶνα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦτο λέγειν.

Schol. Plat. ed. Bekker. p. 373 (cf. p. 399) παιῶνας· ὥδ' ἐπὶ εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ νίκῃ.

Schol. Aristid. 215 C. ἀπλῶς πᾶς ὁ πρὸς θεοὺς ὕμνος καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἄσμα πολεμικόν.

206. *Etym. Or.* 155, 29. ὕμνος ἐγκομίου, ὕμνος παιᾶνος.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I.

EXTANT PAEANS AND FRAGMENTS OF PAEANS.

§ I. FRAGMENTS OF PAEANS PRESERVED IN LITERATURE.

Alkman.

22 [37]. Strabo, X, 482, from Ephoros.

φοίναϊς δὲ καὶ ἐν θιάσοισιν
ἀνδρείων παρὰ δαιτυμόνεσσιν
πρέπει παιᾶνα κατάρχειν.

Alkaios.

2-4. Himerios *Or.* XIV, 10. Ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ Ἀλκαίον τινὰ λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὃν ἐκείνος ᾔσεν ἐν μέλεσι παιᾶνα γράφων Ἀπόλλωνι. Ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ κατὰ τὰ μέλη τὰ Δέσβια, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ποιητικός τις ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸ λύρας εἰς λόγον τῆς λύρας. Ὅτε Ἀπόλλων ἐγένετο, κοσμήσας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς μίτρα τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύρα, δούς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρμα ἐλαύνειν, κύκνοι δὲ ἦσαν τὸ ἄρμα, εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπει καὶ Κασταλίας νάματα, ἐκείθεν προφητεύοντα δίκην καὶ θέμιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐφῆκε τοὺς κύκνους εἰς Ὑπερβορέους πέτεσθαι. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ᾔσθοντο, παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος, καὶ χοροὺς ἡθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐνόμιζε, καὶ τοὺς Δελφικοὺς ἡχῆσαι τρίποδας, αὖθις κελεύει τοῖς κύκνοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφίπτασθαι. Ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ μέσον αὐτό, ὅτε ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀλκαῖος ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὅθεν δὴ θέρους ἐκλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντος Ἀπόλλωνος θερινόν τι καὶ ἡ λύρα περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀβρύνεται· ἄδουσι μὲν ἀηδόνες αὐτῷ, ὅποιον εἰκὸς ᾄσαι παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ τὰς ὄρνιθας· ἄδουσι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες καὶ τέττιγες, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τύχην τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλλουσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη κατὰ θεοῦ φθεγγόμεναι· ῥεῖ καὶ ἀργυροῖς ἡ Κασταλία κατὰ ποίησιν νάμασι, καὶ Κηφιστὸς μέγας αἵρεται πορφύρων τοῖς κύμασι, τὸν Ἐνιπέα τοῦ Ὀμήρου μιμούμενος. βιάζεται μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκαῖος ὁμοίως Ὀμήρῳ καὶ ἰδὼρ θεῶν ἐπιδημίαν αἰσθέσθαι δυνάμενον. Cf. *Plut. de musica*, 14 ; p. 1136 A ; *Paus.* X, 8, 9, and *Prokop. Ep.* 20, p. 540.

Stesichoros.

A paean of Stesichoros (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* III, p. 232) is mentioned Athen. 250 B.

Tynnichos.

There are several references to a famous paean of Tynnichos from which remains the line εὔρημά τι Μοισᾶν (*Poet. Lyr. Graec.* III, p. 379).

Simonides.

26 A [40]. Julian. *Epist.* XXIV, 395 D. Σιμωνίδῃ δὲ ἄρα τῷ μελικῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος εὐφημίαν ἀρκεῖ τὸν θεὸν Ἑκατον προσειπόντι καὶ καθάπερ ἀντ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἱεροῦ γνωρίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν κοσμήσαι, διότι τὸν Πύθωνα τὸν δράκοντα βέλεσιν ἑκατόν, ὥς φησιν, ἐχειρώσατο· καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν Ἑκατον ἢ Πύθιον χαίρειν προσαγορευόμενον, οἷον κλήρου τινὸς ἐπωνυμίας συμβόλῃ προσφωνούμενον.

26 B. Aristot. *Rhet.* III, 8.

Δαλογενές, εἴτε Λυκίαν . . .

χρυσεοκόμας Ἑκατε, παῖ Διός.

Pindar.

52 [24]. Schol. Pind. *Nem.* VII, 94.

. . . Ἀμφιπόλοισι μαρνάμενον
μοιριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν ἀπολωλέναι.

53 [25]. Paus. X, 5, 12.

Χρύσται δ' ἐξύτερθ' αἵετοῦ
ᾄειδον Κηληδόνες.

54 [27]. Cf. Paus. X, 16, 2; Strabo, IX, p. 419. The theme was the story of the eagles of Zeus which met at the point marked by the Delphic omphalos.

55 [28]. Schol. Aisch. *Eumen.* 3. Πίνδαρός φησι πρὸς βίαν κρατῆσαι Πυθοῦς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, διὸ καὶ ταρταρώσαι ἐζήτει αὐτὸν ἡ Γῆ.

56. Himerios, *Orat.* III, 1. Χαῖρε φίλον φάος χαρίεντι μειδίον προσώπῳ· μέλος γάρ τι λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς λύρας εἰς τὴν σὴν ἐπιδημίαν προσάσσομαι, ἥδεώς μὲν ἂν πείσας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους λύραν μοι γενέσθαι καὶ ποίησιν, ἵνα τι κατὰ σοῦ νεανιεύσωμαι, ὁποῖος Σιμωνίδης ἢ Πίνδαρος κατὰ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

57 [29]. Dio Chrys. I, 251; *Orat.* XII.

Δωδωναῖε megástheves, áριστότεχνα πάτερ.

58 [30]. Cf. Schol. Soph. *Trach.* 175.

59-60 [31-32]. Cf. Strabo, VII, p. 328.

61 [33]. Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* II, 1, 8.

Τί δ' ἔλπεαι σοφίαν ἔμμεν, ᾧ τ' ὀλίγον τοι

ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἰσχύει;

οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν βουλευμάτων ἑρυνάσει βροτέα φρενί·

θνατῆς δ' ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἔφν.

62 [34]. Schol. Ap. Rhod. I, 1086. Εἰλῆφε δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀλκυνόνων παρὰ Πινδάρου ἐκ παιάνων. . . . εὐλόγως δὲ ὅσσαν εἶπε τὴν ἀλκυνόνης φωνήν· ὑπὸ γὰρ Ἥρας ἦν ἀπεσταλμένη, ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος.

63 [35]. Tzetz. *ad Lycophr.* 440. Οἱ μάντεις οἱ γνήσιοι οἱ ἐθάδες τοῦ ἐν Δηραίοις τόπῳ Ἀβδήρων τιμωμένου Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν παιᾶσιν.

64-65 [36-37]. Plut. *de musica*, 15, p. 1136 C. Πίνδαρος δ' ἐν παιαῖσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Νιόβης γάμοις φησὶ Λύδιον ἁρμονίαν πρῶτον διδασκῆναι (ὑπὸ Ἀνθίππου). Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII, 36 and Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XX, 7.

66-70 [38, 40, 41, 42, 39]. I, Ammon. 70. Θεβαῖοι καὶ Θεβαγενεῖς διαφέρουσιν, καθὼς Δίδυμος ἐν ὑπομνήματι τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Παιάνων Πινδάρου φησίν, καὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀπὸ τούτου Θεβαγενεῖς πέμπουσι τὸν χρύσειον εἰς Ἰσμήνιον ἱερόν κτλ.

II. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* I, 26. Supra p. 91, n. 143.

III. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* II, 70. ἐν δὲ τοῖς παιαῖσιν εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ ἐκπεσόντος Λαΐψ.

IV. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* VI, 4. ἐν τῇ πολυχρύσῳ Ἀπολλωνία νάπη, περὶ ἧς ἐν παιαῖσιν εἴρηται.

V. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* XII, 45. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν παιαῖσι περὶ αὐλητικῆς.

Bacchylides.

13 [12]. Stob. *Floril.* LV, 3.

Τίκει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰράνα μεγάλα

πλοῦτον καὶ μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθη,

- δαιδαλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν θεοῖσιν αἰθεσθαι βωῶν
 ξανθῇ φλογὶ μῆρα ταυντρίχων τε μήλων,
 5 γυμνασίῳν τε νέοις αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλιν.
 ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν
 ἀραχνᾶν ἱστοὶ πέλονται·
 ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεά τ' ἀμφάκεα δάμναται εὐρώς·
 χαλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος·
 10 οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων.
 ἀμὸν ὃς θάλπει κέαρ.
 συμποσίῳν δ' ἐρατῶν βρίθοντ' ἀγνυαί, παιδικοὶ θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται.
 14 [13]. Clem. Alex. V, 687.
 Ἔτερος ἐξ ἐτέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾶστον ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας
 ἐξευρεῖν.

15 [14]. Zenob. *Prov.* II, 36. Ἄρκτου παρούσας ἵχνη μὴ ζήτει.
 ἐπὶ τῶν δειλῶν κυνηγῶν εἴρηται ἡ παροιμία· μέμνηται αὐτῆς Βακχυλίδης ἐν
 παιᾶσιν.

Sophokles.

Bergk-Hiller, *Anthologia Lyrica*, p. 124; cf. *Sat. philol.*
Saupph. p. 97.

<᾽Ω Φλεγυᾶ> κούρα περιώννυμε, μᾶτερ ἀλεξιπό<νου>
 <Φοῖβος> ἀκειρεκόμας . . . ἐναρίθμι<ον> . . .
 . . . εσι<ν> εὐεπ . . .

Sokrates.

Diog. Laer. II, 42. Ἄλλὰ καὶ παιᾶνα κατὰ τινας ἐποίησεν οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,
 Δῆλι' Ἄπολλον χαῖρε, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλεεινώ.

Ariphron.

1. Athen. XV, 702 A. ὅτι παιᾶνα εἰς Ὑγίειαν ἐποίησε τόνδε
 Ἀρίφρων ὁ Σικυνῶνιος.

Ὑγίεια, πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον
 βιοτᾶς, σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων σύννοικος εἶης·
 εἰ γάρ τις ἢ πλούτου χάρις ἢ τεκέων,
 ἢ τῶς ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώποις βασιληίδος ἀρχᾶς, ἢ πόθων,
 οὓς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτας ἔρκεσιν θηρεύομεν,

ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλα θεόθεν ἀνθρώποισι τέρψις ἢ πόνων ἀμνηστὶς πέφανται,
 μετὰ σείο, μάκαιρ' Ὑγίεια,
 τέθαλε [πάντα] καὶ λάμπει Χαρίτων ἕαρι,
 σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὐ τις εὐδαίμων (ἔφν).

Timotheos.

13. Macrob. *Sat.* I, 17, 19.

Σὺ τ' ὦ τὸν αἰὲ πόλον οὐράνιον
 ἀκτίσι λαμπραῖς Ἄλιε βάλλων,
 πέμψον ἐκαβόλον ἐχθροῖς βέλος
 σᾶς ἀπὸ νευράς, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν.

A PAEAN-PRAYER IN ARISTOPHANES.

Vespæ 863-890.

ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς
 καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς

865 φήμην ἀγαθὴν λέξομεν ὑμῖν,
 ὅτι γενναίως ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ τοῦ νείκους ξυμβήτην.
 εὐφημία μὲν πρῶτα νῦν ὑπαρχέτω.
 ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλὸν Πύθι', ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ

870 τὸ πρᾶγμ' ὃ μηχανᾶται
 ἔμπροσθεν οὗτος τῶν θυρῶν,
 ἅπασιν ἡμῖν ἀρμόσαι
 πανσαμένους πλάνων.
 Ἰήιε Παιάν.

ΒΔ. 875 ὦ δέσποτ' ἀναξ, γαῖτον ἀγνιεῦ τοῦμοῦ προθύρου προπύλαιε,
 δέξαι τελετὴν καινὴν, ὦναξ, ἣν τῷ πατρὶ καινοτομοῦμεν,
 παῦσόν τ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τὸ λίαν στρυφνὸν καὶ πρίνινον ἦθος,
 ἀντὶ σιραίου μέλιτος μικρὸν τῷ θυμιδίῳ παραμίξας·
 ἥδη δ' εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 ἥπιον αὐτόν,

880 τοὺς φεύγοντάς τ' ἐλεεῖν μᾶλλον
 τῶν γραψαμένων
 κἀπιδακρύνειν ἀντιβολούντων,
 καὶ παυσάμενον τῆς δυσκολίας
 ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς
 τὴν ἀκαλήφην ἀφελέσθαι.

- ΧΟ. 885 ξυνευχόμεσθα ταῦτά σοι κἀπάδομεν
 νέαισιν ἀρχαῖς, ἔνεκα τῶν προλελεγμένων.
 εὔνοι γάρ ἐσμεν ἐξ οὗ
 τὸν δῆμον ἡσθόμεσθά σου
 φιλοῦντος ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ
 890 τῶν γε νεωτέρων.
 Ἴημε Παιάν.

CHORUS IN THE STYLE OF A DELPHIC PAEAN.

Euripides.

Iph. Taur.

- εὔπαις ὁ Λατοῦς γόνος,
 1235 τόν ποτε Δηλιάσιν καρποφόροις γυάλοις,
 τεκοῦσα χρυσοκόμαν
 ἐν κιθάρᾳ σοφόν, ἃ τ' ἐπὶ τόξων
 εὐστοχίᾳ γάνυται, φέρειν ἴνιν
 1240 ἀπὸ δειράδος εἰναλίας,
 λοχεῖα κλεινὰ λιποῦσ'
 ἀστάκτων μάτηρ ὑδάτων,
 τὰν βακχεύουσαν Διονύσῳ
 Παρνάσιον κορυφάν,
 1245 ὅθι ποικιλόνωτος οἰνωπὸς δράκων
 σκιερᾷ κατάχαλκος εὐφύλλῳ δάφνῃ,
 γᾶς πελώριον
 τέρας, ἄμφεπε μαντεῖον χθόνιον . . .
 1250 ἔτι νιν ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι φίλας
 ἐπὶ μητέρος ἀγκάλαισι θρώσκων
 ἔκανες, ὦ Φοῖβε, μαντείων δ' ἐπέβας ζαθέων,
 τρίποδί τ' ἐν χρυσέῳ θάσσεις, ἐν ἄψευδεὶ θρόνῳ
 1255 μαντείας βροτοῖς
 θεσφάτων νέμων
 ἀδύτων ὑπο, Κασταλίας ῥεέθρων
 γείτων, μέσον γᾶς ἔχων μέλαθρον.
 Θέμιν δ' ἐπεὶ γᾶς ἰὼν
 1260 παῖδ' ἀπενάσσαιο . . . ἀπὸ ζαθέων
 χρηστηρίων, νύχια

- χθὼν ἔτεκνώσατο φάσματ' ὀνείρων,
 οἱ πολέσιν μερόπων τά τε πρῶτα
 τά τ' ἔπειθ' ἅ τ' ἔμελλε τυχεῖν
 1265 ὕπνον κατὰ δνοφερὰς
 γᾶς εὐνὰς ἔφραζον . . .
 μαντείον δ' ἀφείλετο τιμὰν
 Φοῖβον φθόνῳ θυγατρός·
 ταχύπους δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ὄρμαθεις ἀναξ
 1270 χέρα παιδὸν ἔλιξεν ἐκ Ζητὸς θρόνων
 Πυθίων δόμων
 χθονίαν ἀφελεῖν μῆνιν νυχίους τ' ὀνείρους.
 γέλασε δ' ὅτι τέκος ἄφαρ ἔβα
 1275 πολύχρυσά θέλων λατρεύματα σχεῖν·
 ἐπὶ δ' ἔσεισεν κόμαν παύσειν νυχίους ἐνοπίας,
 ἀπὸ δὲ μαντοσύναν νυκτωπὸν ἐξέειλεν βροτῶν,
 1280 καὶ τιμὰς πάλιν
 θῆκε Δοξίᾳ,
 πολυάνορι δ' ἐν ξενόεντι θρόνῳ
 θάρσση βροτοῖς θεσφάτων ἀοιδαῖς.

§ 2. PAEANS PRESERVED IN INSCRIPTIONS.

C.I.A. III, 171. (=C.I.G. 511.)

- A. Ἐγρ[εο], Παιήων, Ἀσκληπιέ, κοίρανε λαῶν,
 Δητοίδου σεμνῆς τε Κορωνίδος ἡπιόφρων παῖ.
 ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων σκεδάσας εὐχῶν ἐπάκουε
 σῶν μερόπων, οἱ πολλὰ γεγηθότες ἱλάσκονται
 5 σὸν σθένος, ἡπιόφρων Ἀσκληπιέ, πρῶτον Ὑγείαν.
 ἔγρ[εο] καὶ τεὸν ὕμνον, Ἰήμι, κ[έ]κλυ[θ]ι· χαῖρε.

B. Hymn to Hygieia. (=Athen. 702 A, Under Ariphron, supra, p. 104).

C. Hymn to Telesphoros.

- 1 βαρναλγέα νοῦσον ἀπωσάμεν[ος],
 Π[αι]ὰν δὲ γέγηθεν ἀκειρ[ε]κόμης,
 νέον ἔρνος ἔχων σέ, Τελεσφόρε, τὸν
 περὶ κῆρ ἔστη . . .
 15 ὑμνόμεν σε, μάκαρ, φαεσίνβροτε, δῶτορ ἑάω[ν],

- Παιᾶνος ἴδρυμα, Τελεσφόρε κλεινὲ δ[αῆμο]ν
 22 οὐ μὰ[ν το]ῦδε χάριν σε, Τελεσφόρε, ἄδομεν οἶον,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι κ[ᾶν] Παιᾶ[νο]ς ἄκε[ιρ]εκόμου θεραπείαις
 ζωοφόρον σε θ[εώμεθ']· ἰὼ μάκαρ, αὐτὸς ὁ Βάκχος.
 171 a. 22 [Τρισμ]άκαρ, ὦ Παιᾶν Ἀσκληπιέ, σῆς ὑπὸ τέχνης
 [ἰαθ']εἰς Διόφαντος ἀνιάτον κακὸν ἔλκος

171 d. and k., found at the Asklepieion, contain the name Παιᾶν.

C.I.A. III, 171 b. inventa ad Asclepieum. (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* III, 676).

- Μακε[δών] ἐποίη[σεν]
 Δήλιον εὐφάρετρα[ν]
 εὐφροني θυμῷ εὐφημ[εῖτε ἰὴ Παιᾶν]
 5 ἰκτῆρ[α] κλάδον ἐν παλά[μαισιν] ἔχοντες, ἐλαίης]
 ἄ[γλ]αον ἔρνος, κοῦροι Ἀθη[νῶν, ἰὴ Παιᾶν,]
 . . ν . . αμε ος ὕμνος αἰεί[δ]
 κλυτόν, ἦ[πι]ον,
 ἐπιτάρροθον [ἐγεί]νατο νόσῳ[ν ἦδ'ε]
 10 δύης, Ἀσκληπιὸν εὐφ[ρονα] κοῦρον, [ἰὴ Παιᾶν,]
 τὸν δ' ἀνὰ Πηλιάδας κορυφᾶς ἐδίδαξε [τέ]χνη[ν τε καὶ σο-]
 φίαν Κένταυρος ἀλεξίπονο[ν] μερόπεσσιν [ἰὴ Παιᾶν]
 παῖδα Κορωνίδος, ἦπιον ἀν[δ]ράσι, δαίμονα σεμνότα[τον, ἰὴ Παιᾶν,]
 τοῦ δ' ἐγένοντο κό[ρ]οι Ποδαλείριος ἦδ'ε Μαχάων, Ἑλλησ[ιν κοσμήτορε]
 15 λόγχης, ἰὴ Παιᾶν,
 ἦδ' Ἰασὺ Ἀκεσῶ τε καὶ Αἰγλη καὶ Πανάκεια, Ἡπιόνης [θύγατρ' ἐσὶν]
 ἀριπρέπτῳ Ὑγείᾳ, ἰὴ Παιᾶν,
 χαῖρε, βροτοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ, δαῖμον κλεινότατε, [ἰὴ Παιᾶν,]
 Ἀσκληπιέ, σὴν δὲ δίδου σοφίαν ὑμνοῦντας ἐς αἰ[εὶ θ']άλλειν
 20 ἐν βιοτῇ σὺν τερπνοτάτῃ Ὑγείᾳ, ἰὴ Παιᾶ[ν].
 σῴζεις δ' Ἀτθίδα Κεκροπίαν πόλιν αἰὲν ἐπερχόμε[ν]ος ἰὴ Παιᾶν,
 ἦπιος ἔσσο, μάκαρ, στυγεράς δ' ἀπερύκεο νόσους· ἰὲ ὦ ἰ[ε] Παιᾶν.

C.I.A. III, 1, 171 c; *Add.* p. 490. Baillet, *Rev. Archéol.* 1889, XIII, 70; E. Ziebarth, *Comm. Phil.* p. 189; Wilamowitz

von Moellendorf, *Comm. Gramm.* IV, 1889/90, p. 20; E. Preuner, *Rhein. Mus.* 1894, p. 315.

- Παιᾶνα κλυτόμητιν αἰείσατε,
 κοῦροι, Δητοῖδην ἑκατον, ἰὲ ὦ ἰὲ
 Παιάν, ὃς μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖσιν
 ἐγείνατο, μιχθεὶς ἐν φιλότῃ
 5 Κορωνίδι τᾷ Φλεγυεῖαι· ἰὴ Παι-
 άν, Ἀσκληπιόν, δαίμονα κλεινό-
 τατον, ἰὲ Παιάν. τοῦδε καὶ ἐξεγέ-
 νοντο Μαχάων καὶ Ποδαλείριος
 ἦδ' Ἴασώ Ἀκεσώ τε πολύλλιτος· ὦ ἰὲ
 10 Παιάν, Αἴγλη τ' εὐώπις Πανάκειά
 τε Ἐπιώνης παῖδες σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ
 εὐαυγεί Ὑγείαι· ἰὴ Παιάν.
 Ἀσκληπιέ, δαῖμον κλεινότατε, ἰὲ
 Παιάν. χαῖρέ μοι, Ἴλαος δ' ἐπινίσσο
 15 ἀμετέραν πόλιν εὐρύχορον, ἰὲ ὦ ἰὲ
 Παιάν, δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας
 ὀρᾶν φάος αἰλίου δοκίμους
 σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐαγεί Ὑγείαι.
 ἰὴ Παιάν, Ἀσκληπιέ, δαῖμον σεμνό-
 τατε, ἰὲ Παιάν.

Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, 66; Wilamowitz v. Moellendorff, *Philol. Unt.* IX, 13.

Ἴσνλλος Ἀστυλαΐδαι ἐπέθηκε μαντεύσασθαί οἱ περὶ τοῦ παιᾶνος ἐν Δελφοῖς ὃν ἐπόησε εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, ἧ λώϊόν οἱ κα εἶη ἀγγράφοντι τὸν παιᾶνα. ἐμάντευσσε λώϊόν οἱ κα εἶμεν ἀγγράφοντι καὶ αὐτίκα καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον.

- Ἰεπαιᾶνα θεὸν αἰείσατε λαοί,
 ζαθέας ἐνναέτα[ι] τᾶσδ' Ἐπιδαύρον.
 ὦδε γὰρ φάτις ἐνέπονσ' ἤλυθ' ἐς ἀκοὰς
 προγόνων ἀματέρων, ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπόλλων.
 5 Ἐρατὼ Μοῦσαν πατὴρ Ζεὺς λέγεται Μά-
 λ[ωι] δόμεν παράκοιτιν ὁσίοισι γάμοις.
 Φλεγυᾶς δ', [ὄς] πατρίδ' Ἐπιδάυρον ἔναιεν,

θυγατέρα Μά[λ]ον γ[αμ]εῖ, τὰν Ἐρατῶ γεί-
νατο μάτηρ, Κλεοφήμα δ' ὀνομάσθη.

10 ἐκ δὲ Φλεγυά γενετο, Αἴγλα δ' ὀνομάσθη·
τόδ' ἐπώνυμον· τὸ κάλλος δὲ Κορωνίς ἐπεκλήθη.

κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ χρυσότοξος Φοῖβος ἐμ Μά-

λου δόμοις παρθενίαν ὥραν ἔλυσε,

λεχέων δ' ἡμεροέντων ἐπέβας, Λα-

15 τῶι κότε χρυσοκόμα.

σέβομαί σε· ἐν δὲ θυώδει τεμένει τέκε-

το (ἴ)νιν Αἴγλα, γονίμαν δ' ἔλυσεν ὠδι-

να Διὸς [π]αῖς μετὰ Μ[ο]ῖραν Λάχεσις τε μαῖα ἀγαυά.

ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ νιν Αἴγλας ματρὸς Ἀσκλα-

20 πιδὸν ὠνόμαξε Ἀπόλλων, τὸν νόσων παύ-

στορα, δωτῆρ' ὑγείας, μέγα δῶρημα βροτοῖς.

Ἴε Παιὰν ἱε Παιάν, χαῖρε Ἀσκλα-

πίε, τὰν σὰν Ἐπίδανρον ματρόπολιν αὖ-

ξον, ἐναργῆ δ' ὑγίειαν ἐπιπέμποις

25 φρεσὶ καὶ σώμασιν ἅμοις, ἱε Παιὰν ἱε Παιάν.

APPENDIX II.

THE HYMNS DISCOVERED AT DELPHI.*

Among the inscriptions discovered in the excavations conducted at Delphi by the French School the hymns to Apollo and Dionysos naturally have proved of far the greatest interest. One does not look for literature in Greek inscriptions, or he would be disappointed in these hymns as literary productions. For the study of Greek music, however, these hymns are of the greatest importance. It is true that their musical excellence may be as far below the best Greek work, as is their literary excellence; but any additional material for the study of Greek music is most welcome. And the student of Greek religion is equally grateful for these examples of hymns used in Delphic cultus, since he, too, had found remaining but a few late specimens of hymns that were actually used in worship.

In reprinting the text of these hymns, I shall reproduce the revised text of the French editors with scarcely any change. At some points "la science divinatoire" (B.C.H. XVIII, 363) of the French editor has been shown in rather free restorations, and brackets alone do not indicate with sufficient clearness the somewhat arbitrary character of the additions; I have used underlined type to mark these instances of arbitrary restoration. The Greek musical symbols have been inserted above the line as they are found on the stone, in order that all the material for the study of these hymns may be in the reader's hands.

* Bull. Corr. Hell. XVII, 561-583: Weil, *Inscriptions de Delphes*. *Ibid*, 584-610: Reinach, *La musique des hymnes de Delphes*. Philol. LIII, Ergänzungsheft: Crusius, *Die delphischen Hymnen*. Rhein. Mus. XLIX, 577-595: Pomtow, *Zur Datirung der delphischen Hymnen*. B.C.H. XVIII, 345-362: Weil, *Un nouvel hymne de Delphes*. *Ibid*, 363-389: Reinach, *La musique du nouvel hymne de Delphes*. B.C.H. XIX, 393-418, 548: Weil, *Un péan delphique à Dionysos*. B.C.H. XXI, 510-513: Weil, *Le péan delphique à Dionysos*. (*supplément*).

I. PAEAN TO APOLLO BY ARISTONOOS.

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ἀριστονό[ωι, ἐπεὶ] τοὺς ὕμνους τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπ[οί-
ησεν], αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν | εὐεργεσίαν προμαντείαν προ[εδρίαν] |
προδικίαν ἀσυλίαν πολέμου ἢ εἰρήνης, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ ἐπιτι[μὰν]
καθάπερ Δελφοῖς. ἄρχοντας | Δαμοχάρεος, βουλευόντων | Ἀντάνδρου,
Ἐρασίππου, Εὐαρχίδα.

Ἀριστόνοος Νικοσθένους Κορίνθιος | Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ τὸν ὕμνον. |

I. I Πυθίαν ἱερόκτιτον

ναίων Δελφίδ/(δ) ἄμφι πέτραι

αἰὲ θεσπιόμαντιν | ἔ-

δραν, ἰῆ ἰὲ Παιάν, |

5 Ἄπολλον, Κοῖοῦ τε κόρας

Λατοῦς σε/μνὸν ἄγαλμα καὶ

Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου, μα/κάρων

βουλαῖς, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν, |

II. ἔνθ' ἀπὸ τριπόδων θεο-

10 κτήτων χλω/ρότομον δάφναν

στείων μαντοσύ/ναν ἐποιχ-

νεῖς, ἰῆ ἰὲ Παιάν, |

φρικώεντος ἐξ ἀδύτου

μελλόν/των θέμιν εὖσεβῇ

15 χρησμοῖς εὐφθόν/γου τε λύρας

αὐδαῖς, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν. |

III. ἀγνισθεῖς ἐνὶ Τέμπεσιν

βουλαῖς | Ζηνὸς ὑπειρόχου,

ἐπεὶ Παλλὰς | ἔπεμψε Πυ-

20 θῶδ' (ε), <ἰῆ> ἰὲ Παιάν, |

πείσας Γαῖαν ἀνθοτρόφον

Θέμιν | τ' εὐπλόκαμον θεὰν

<αἰ> ἐν εὐλιβάνους | ἔδρας

ἔχεις, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν. |

IV. 25 ὅθεν Τριτογενῇ Προναί-

αν ἐμ μαντεῖ/αις ἀ[γ]ίοις

σέβων ἀθανάτοις ἄμοι-

[β]αῖς, ἰῆ ἰὲ Παιάν,

χάριν παλαιᾶν χαρί/των

- 30 τ[ᾶν] τότ'(ε) αἰδίω[υ]ς ἔχων
 μνή|μας, ὑψίστα<ι>ς ἐφέπεις
 τιμαῖς, ὦ ἱὲ Παιάν./
- V. δωροῦνται δέ σ'(ε) ἀθάνατοι
 Ποσειδῶν ἀγνοῖς δαπέδοις,
 35 Νύμφαι Κωρυκί|οισιν ἄν-
 τροις, ἱὴ ἱὲ Παιάν,/
- τριετέσιν φαναῖς Βρόμος·
 σεμνὰ / δ'(ε) *Ἀρτεμις εὐπόνοις
 κυνῶν ἐμ φυ|λακαῖς ἔχεις
- 40 τόπους, ὦ ἱὲ Παιάν./
- VI. ἀλλ' ὦ Παρνασσῷ γυάλων
 εὐδρό|σοισι Κασταλίας
 να[σ]μοῖς σὸν δέ|μας ἔξαβρύ-
 νων, ἱὴ ἱὲ Παιάν,/
- 45 χαρεῖς ὕμνοις ἡμετέροις
 ὄλβον / ἐξ ὁσίων διδοὺς
 αἰὲ καὶ σώζων / ἐφέποις
 ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἱὲ Παιάν·

Notes on the text:—Introduction l. 3, supply the Doric form ἐπιτιμᾶν, which is regularly found in the Delphic inscriptions instead of ἐπιτιμίαν. Vv. 4, 9, etc. The reasons for writing the refrain in this manner are conclusively stated by Crusius, *Delphische Hymnen*, p. 6 f. 23. Weil finds traces of the A of αἶεν above the line. 26. Stone A: Crus. o. 30. Stone, ΤΟΙΣΤΟΤΕΑΙΔΙΟΙΣ, the last I corrected from Υ. Weil reads τῶν, Crus. τᾶν. I believe that the mistake originated in τοῖς, which was written to continue in a dependent dative the thought of χαρίτων, and that αἰδίους was corrected to correspond with τοῖς; so I retain the form first written, αἰδίους, agreeing with μνήμας. 31. Stone, ΥΨΙΣΤΑΣ; Crus. inserts ι. Weil and Crus. insert ι in μνήμας; Weil also omits ι from τιμαῖς, a procedure to which Crus. rightly objects. 39. Weil, Crus. ἔχει(ς). The change to the second person seems to me possible, for Artemis is much more closely connected with the god to whom the prayer is addressed, than is either Athena or Poseidon.

In general the language of this hymn reminds the reader of the lyrics in the Attic drama, although here the omission of the article is more marked (the article occurs only in v. 30), and compound adjectives are formed with much greater freedom. Six words are not found elsewhere (cf. Philol. LIII, Ergänz. p. 18), *ιερόκιτος*, *θεσπιόμαντις*, *χλωρότομος*, *φρικώεις*, *εὔπωνος* (cf. Hermann on Soph. *Oed. Col.* 300), *ἐξαβρόνω*. Other words are found only in later hymns; *e. g.* *θεόκτητος*, Eustath. *Opusc.* p. 233, 92; *εὐλίβανος*, *Orph. Hymn.* 55, 17; *ἀνθοτρόφος*, Hesych. under *ἀνθοβοσκόν*; *τριετής*, "once in three years," *Orph. Hymn.* 53, 5; *ὑπείροχος* as an epithet of a god, *Orph. εὐχή* v. 12.

The multiplication of epithets in prayer is found from the time of the Homeric poems on (cf. *Iliad*, XVI, 233 f.); Crusius cites Aristoph. *Equit.* 550-559 as a good example of the developed prayer style.* In the present hymn this style is carried to such an excess that it becomes clumsy and monotonous. The first double strophe is constructed around a vocative, the rest (except the fifth) each around a single verb; while there is no limit to the number of compound adjectives or of participles, and to the use of subordinate clauses.

As in the case of the literary hymns to the gods, the last strophe corresponds closely to the first, and the hymn makes a complete whole by returning upon itself. Here, however, the beginning and end are invocations, and the change to the vocative fittingly marks it as a hymn used in worship.

Notes:—I. 3. The line refers to the presence of earlier oracles before Apollo came. 5. *Κοῖον*: Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 62; cf. Pindar, *Frag.* 88; Kallim. IV, 150. 6. *ἄγαλμα*: used as in the Attic drama, cf. Aisch. *Agam.* 207; Soph. *Ant.* 1116. 7. *ὑψίστου*: an epithet of Zeus as worshipped on mountain tops; used at Delphi, Aisch. *Eumen.* 28.

II. 10. Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 213; Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 395;

* Crusius also calls attention to the discussion of the stylistic effect of the present participle in lyric poetry in the Amer. Jour. Phil. IX, p. 145 f. and Philologus XLVIII, p. 198 f.

Kallim. IV, 94 ; third Delphic hymn, line 25. Crusius quotes Abel, *Orphica*, p. 288, 1 (Parthey, *Zwei griech. Zauberpapyri*, p. 44) ; Lucian, *Bis accus.* 1 ; Tibull. II, 5, 63, to show that the taste or smell of laurel was supposed to have some "inspiring" quality. This effect of the laurel was of course greater when the foliage was *χλωρότομος*. The connection of the laurel with the feast for which this paean was written, is mentioned by Plutarch, *de mus.* 1136 A (cf. Aelian, *Var. hist.* III, 1). 14. *θέμν* : as in Soph. *Phil.* 346. 15. The allusion seems to mean either that music accompanied the responses of the Pythia, or that they were published with lyre accompaniment.

III. This strophe, as Weil points out, shows that the paean was composed for the Delphic feast which celebrated the return of the purified Apollo from Tempe to take possession of the oracle. The conflict between Apollo and the serpent when Apollo first came to Delphi, is the central feature of Delphic legend. According to the Homeric hymn the serpent was a monster who made it dangerous to consult the newly founded oracle of Apollo. Later the monster was regarded either as the giver of oracles before Apollo, or as the protector of the oracle of Gaia, so that the conflict was represented as Apollo's conquest of the oracle. This version is controverted by Aischylos (*Eumen.* 5), who states that Apollo received the oracle as a birthday gift without any use of force ; our paean follows this Athenian version, although there is an allusion to the anger of Gaia in the statement that Pallas persuaded Gaia and Themis to give the oracle to Apollo.

The enneateric feast called the Septerion (Stepterion) is connected by Ephoros (Strabo, p. 422), by Plutarch (*de def. orac.* 15 ; 418B), and by Pausanias (X, 6, 6), with a distinct version of the story which makes *Πύθων* the name of an evil man whom Apollo slew to stop his depredations, and for whose murder he required purification. The scene was represented in mimic drama, and after Python was slain, Apollo (represented in the drama by a youth of noble family) fled to Tempe for purification. Probably this holy drama was also a rite shared by men who had incurred the stain of blood, and they were purified with the

god.* When the period of purification was ended (apparently it lasted in theory eight years, Plut. *de def. orac.* 418A), the youth was escorted back in a sacred procession, crowned with laurel, to represent the god coming to take possession of Delphi (Aelian, *Var. hist.* III, 1). 19. *ἔπεμψε* of the present paean alludes to this procession, and undoubtedly this hymn was sung by a chorus to greet the god who is now Φοῖβος ἀλφειῶς (Plut. *de def. orac.* 421C), as he reached Delphi. We do not know at what season of the year this return of the purified Apollo was celebrated at Delphi, but it is not improbable that once in eight years it took the place of a yearly feast celebrating the first coming of Apollo to Delphi. It is by no means necessary to believe with Mommsen (*Delphika*, p. 161 f.) that it must be a late institution because Plutarch bases it on a euhemeristic account of Apollo's conflict with Python. On the other hand its connection with the agency of Apollo in the purification of men certainly suggests an earlier origin.†—This is the only allusion to the escort of Athena, or to her work in bringing about a settlement between Gaia and Themis and Apollo. The function of Athena in leading Leto to Delos‡ that she might give birth to Apollo and Artemis is quite generally recognized. Attic writers also emphasize the position of Athena at Delphi.§ The origin of this connection between Apollo and Athena at Delphi, however, should perhaps be sought in Phokis and the North rather than at Athens.¶ *Προναία* is the regular epithet of Athena at Delphi; cf. Athena *Πρόνοια* at Delos and in cults under Delian influence.

According to Aisch. *Eumen.* 1 f. the possessors of the oracle were Gaia, then Themis, and finally Phoibe, who gave it to Apollo. The series, Gaia-Themis-Apollo, appears in Pausanias, X, 5, 6, and is alluded to in the present paean, lines 21, 22. The epithets of the gods in this stanza are purely poetical. Themis receives

* Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 209, n. 1.

† Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I, 287.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

§ Aisch. *Eumen.* 21; Herod. I, 92, VIII, 37.

¶ K. O. Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, II, 195 f.

the epithet εὑλόκαμος which Homer applied to Artemis ; and Gaia is no longer καρποφόρος (*e. g.* B.C.H. VI, 1882, p. 454), but, as in the legend of the rape of Persephone, she bears flowers. 23. εὐλιβάνους ; cf. the allusion to the use of incense at a sacrifice in the third hymn, v. 14.

IV. The special favor which the oracle shows to Athens is traced to a legendary origin in Apollo's gratitude to Athena. Here the poetic epithet and the cult epithet of Athena are combined.

V. In Aisch. *Eumen.* 22-29, "Bromios," the Korykian nymphs, and Poseidon are mentioned in the prayer of the Delphic priestess. This reference to Poseidon acquires special significance in the light of Plutarch's statement that there was a contest between Poseidon and Apollo for Delphi, like the contest between Poseidon and Athena for Athens.* According to Pausanias (X, 24, 4) there was an altar to Poseidon in the court of Apollo's Delphic temple. The *τριηγερίδες* of Dionysos are mentioned, Eurip. *Bacch.* 133, and the *φάναι*, *Ion.* 551 ; cf. also the Delphic paean to Dionysos, vv. 21-23. Artemis seems never to have had any important place in Delphic cultus, though she is frequently represented on monuments with the Pythian Apollo. At Eleusis (Paus. I, 38, 6) and at Epidaurus (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, σ. 27) she is the guardian of the gates, *προπύλαια* ; I believe this passage is the only mention of her in such a capacity at Delphi. The poetic character of the reference is evident from the reference to her dogs "that find their toil delight." The dogs of Artemis appear frequently in art, *e. g.* on the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, but the conception of them as a guard does not appear elsewhere.

VI. The hymn breaks off with ἀλλά (cf. *Iliad*, XVI, 523) and closes with an invocation and a prayer to bless and save, as is customary in earlier hymns. Crusius compares the Homeric hymns (V, 490 ; XX, 7) as well as many of the Orphic hymns. With the first part of VI Weil aptly compares Horace, *Odes*, III, 4.

61 Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
Crines solutos.

* Plut. *Symp.* IX, 6 ; 741A.

The special prayer for those who sing the hymn is found in the second hymn with musical notes, line 40.

Two points cannot fail to arrest the attention of the careful reader. In the first place the hymn is largely composed of material that is not unfamiliar, and would probably be far more familiar to us if we had more of the Delphic hymns. Apart from the Athenian flavor of the legend, the return from Tempe, the acquirement of the oracle, and the relation to the other gods at Delphi, are all topics that are treated in somewhat the same manner by writers whose works have come down to us. Apparently the material was ready to the hand of the poet, and his only opportunity for originality lay in the particular form which he gave to the material. And secondly, the Athenian form of the legend is very striking. The writer is a Corinthian, but the comparison of the paean with the opening lines of Aischylos's *Eumenides*, which is made in detail by Crusius,* is enough in itself to prove that this treatment had long been familiar at Athens. The part assigned to Pallas in bringing Apollo back from Tempe, the special favor which Apollo is represented as showing to Athena in the dispensing of his oracles, both indicate that "it was no accident that the hymn was found in the treasure-house of the Athenians."

The metre of the paean has been carefully studied by Crusius† with the following results. By the use of the refrain the paean is divided into six double strophes. Each strophe is distinctly felt to be a whole, so that a break in a word is permitted at the end of a line (colon); no breaks occur, however, at the end of the second line of each strophe and in the third strophe a hiatus is permitted at this point, showing that each half of the strophe was felt to be a distinct whole. According to the carefully prepared table of Crusius, the first glykoneus does not occur, while the third "as in Anakreon and the dramatists" is much less common than the second, the proportion being about one to two. The spondaic opening is most frequent, and the iambic comes second, while the resolved tribrach occurs but once.

* *Delphische Hymnen*, p. 19, 25.

† *Ibid.*, p. 22 f.

Crusius (Litt. Centralblatt, 1894, No. 24, 889; *Delphische Hymnen*, p. 27) advocates the suggestion that the Aristonoos who was the author of this paean is identical with Aristonoos the cithar-player who is mentioned by Plutarch (*Lysand.* 18) shortly after the citation of a paean in honor of Lysander. It is at best doubtful whether the paean cited by Plutarch was composed by the Aristonoos whom he mentions. Moreover, epigraphical evidence would place the inscription of the Delphic paean as late as the third century B.C., and it seems to me entirely improbable that the poem was the work of a cithar-player who lived so much earlier. Setting aside the musician of Plutarch we are free to date this with Pomtow* about 230-220 B.C.

2. SECOND HYMN TO APOLLO.

Col. I (B)

Δεῦτ' ἀγ' ὑμνωῶμεν ὦ τὸν μέγ[ιστον θεὸν δ[δ' ἀδύ-
I M Y M
πινος ἑσμὸς Ἑλ[κ[ῶ]να βαθύδενδρον αἰ λά-
⊙ I M I M Y M
χετε Διὸς] ἐ[ρι]βρόμονον θύγατρ^{ες} εὐώλε[νοι
⊙ ⊙ I M I M Y M Y
μόλε[τ]ε συνόμαιμον ἵνα Φοιοῖβον ὠιδαῖ-
M F Φ Y F ⊙ U ♣ U
5 σι μέλψητε χρυσεοκόμαν ὃς ἀνὰ δικόρνν-
⊙ U ⊙ M ⊙ I M Y
βα Παρνασσίδος ταᾶσδε πετέρας ἔδραν' ἄμ' [ἀ-
Y M Y M I ⊙ I ⊙ Γ U ♣ Γ
γακλυταιεῖς Δεελφίσιν Κασταλίδος
U ♣ U ⊙ Γ Λ M
εοῦνδρον νάματ' ἐπινίσσεται Δελφὸν ἀνὰ
Y M I ⊙ I M Φ
πρ[ω]ῶνα μαντεῖον ἐφέπων πάγον.
I U ♣ U
10 ἦν] κλυτὰ μεγάλοπολις Ἀθθῆς εὐχαι-
K Λ M O K Λ K Γ U ♣ U
ἰσ]ι φερόπλοιο ναίουσα Τριτωνίδος δά[πεδ-

* Rhein. Mus. XLIX, S. 577 f.

Θ Γ Μ Γ Β Γ Λ Κ Γ Ο Μ Γ
 ον ἄθραυστον, ἀγίοις δὲ βοωμοιοῖσιν Ἄ-
 Κ Μ Λ Κ Λ Μ Λ Μ Ο Κ
 φ]αιστος αἰεῖθε<ι> νέων μῆρα ταούρων, ὁμου-
 Λ Γ Μ Ψ Θ Ι Θ Γ Θ Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ
 οὔ δέ νιν Ἄραψ ἀτμός ἐς [*Ο]λ[υ]μπον ἀνακίδν[α-
 Θ Υ Θ Μ Λ Μ Λ Κ Λ Μ
 15 ται, λιγὺ δὲ λωτοὺς βρέμων αἰόλοιοις [μέ-
 Μ Υ Θ Μ Λ Μ Γ Λ Κ Γ Μ
 λεσιν ὠιδαῶν κρέκει, χρυσέα δ' ἀδύθρου[ς κί-
 Κ Λ Μ Ο Υ Ο Μ Λ Μ Ο Φ Ψ
 θαρὶς ὕμνοισιν ἀναμέλπεται. ὁ δὲ τ[εχνι-
 Φ Γ Ψ Θ Γ Φ Ψ
 τ]ῶν πρόπας ἐσμὸς Ἀθθίδα λαχ[ὼν

Col. II (A)

Θ Γ Φ Ψ Φ Ι
 τὸν κιθαρί]σει κλυτὸν παῖδα μεγάλου [Διὸς ὕ-
 Ι Θ Γ Ψ Φ Γ Ψ
 20 μνοῦσί σε πα]ρ' ἀκρονιφῇ τόνδε πάγον αἶμ-
 Φ Ψ Φ Γ Ψ Γ
 βροτ' ἀψευδέ' ὅς] πᾶσι θνατοιοῖς προφαίνει[εις
 Μ Υ Μ Ι Μ Ι Θ Γ Θ
 λόγια τρ]ίποδα μαντειεῖον ὥς εἰλ[λες ἐχ-
 Φ Γ Ψ Φ Ψ Φ Ψ
 θρὸς ὃν ἐφρ]ονούρει δράκων, ὅτε τε[οιοῖσι
 Ι Ο Γ Φ Ψ
 βέλεσιν ἔτ]ρησας αἰόλον ἐλικτὰν [φνάν.
 Ι Θ Μ Ι Θ Γ Φ
 25 . .]συνρίγμαθ' ἰεὺς ἀθώπε[ντα . . .
 Ψ Φ * Φ Ψ
 . . δὲ Γαλαταῶν Ἄρης . . .
 Ι Θ Γ Φ
 . . . ν ἐπέρασ' ἄσεπτ . . .
 Ψ Φ Γ
 . . . σ. ἄλλ' ἰὼ γέεναν
 Ψ Φ
 . . . ν θάλος φιλόχ[ορον
 Φ Γ Ψ
 30 . . . ε δαάμοιο λο . . .

	Ψ	U	
. . .	ρων	εφορ	
	*		
. . .	τεον	κ	
	U		
. . .	εναι	κ	
. . .	νθη		. . .
Frag. 2.	πε	Frag. 3.	αι
	ρατ		Θ Γ
	U		ε] ιναο
	οσ[τ		U Φ
			εν

Notes on the text:—7. Weil originally read the first letter as T, but later he pronounced it Γ. 10. Weil restores ἰθι; Crusius πάρα or πάρ; Reinach suggests ἦν, comparing the Delphic paeon to Dionysos, v. 14. 14. Stone, YΛOMHION; corr. Weil. 17. The last letter is T, B.C.H. XVIII, p. 361. 19. Stone, KAYTON; corr. Weil.

Among the fragments of hymns with musical notes found in the treasure house of the Athenians, two larger (Weil A and B) and two smaller (Reinach 2 and 3) show the same system of notes and appear to belong to the same hymn. Fragment 1 was associated with the larger fragments, A and B, as the result of an error in reading the musical notes (an error which was repeated in the original reproduction, B.C.H. XVII, p. 604), cf. *infra*, p. 130; in the next volume of the Bulletin, M. Weil connected it with other fragments in the third hymn to Apollo. Fragment A begins with the last word of the superscription HNAIOΣ ('Αθηναῖος), and was placed by Weil and Crusius *above* fragment B. Pomtow (Rhein. Mus. XLIX, 589) and later Weil have restored what I believe to be the right order by placing B to the left of, and therefore before A. Fragment B (Col. I) is in an excellent state of preservation, and the absence of musical notes below the last line shows that it is complete; fragment A is broken on each side, and the portion that remains grows smaller toward the bottom, so that only a few letters of the lower lines are left. Crusius places fragments 2 and 3 after the remains of

lines 28-30 and uses them to restore these lines ; the result is too problematical to be of value. With the main fragments thus arranged, the hymn begins by invoking the Muses to celebrate the coming of Apollo, describes a sacrifice by the Athenians, and in the second column gives again the Delphic legend of the acquirement of the oracle by slaying the serpent, and refers to the victory over the Gauls, which is Apollo's second conquest of Delphi. The end of the hymn cannot be restored.

Notes:—1. With Crus. (who compares *Iliad*, XIX, 413) I prefer ἄριστον. 2. The restoration Ἑλικῶνα seems certain. Weil points out that the lyric adjective βαθύδενδρον (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* III, 720) refers to the grove sacred to the Muses (Paus. IX, 29, 5). With λάχετε compare v. 18 and Hom. *Hymn.* XIX, 6. 3. Cf. ἐριβρεμέτης, *Iliad*, XIII, 624; ἐρίβρομος is properly an epithet of Dionysos. ἐδώλενοι: an epithet of the nymph Kyrene, Pindar, *Pyth.* IX, 17. συνόμαιμον: a word from lyric passages in the Attic drama. 5. χρυσεοκόμαν: a standing epithet of Apollo in poetry; this form is especially adapted to the metre of this hymn, and according to Crusius is found in actual use only in a poem of Simonides.* δικορύνβα: the commoner form of the adjective appears in the third hymn, v. 3; in the drama, e.g., Eurip. *Phoen.* 227, Parnassos is more than once referred to in the same manner. 7. The line refers to a distinct *collegium* of Delphic priestesses, who apparently perform for Apollo an office similar to that which the Thyiades performed for Dionysos, in that they escort the newly appearing god to Delphi. As those who were to consult the oracle bathed in this water or sprinkled themselves with it, so the poet represents the god himself as bathing here before taking possession of the oracle.† 9. πρῶνα very graphically describes the ridge to the west of ancient Delphi, the Pylaea, on which met the Amphiktyones. 9. The "prophetic hill" is not more specific than the "snow-peaked hill" of v. 20. 10. With Reinach's reading, "Here is glorious, mighty Attika

* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* III, 398; supra p. 102.

† Cf. also Eurip. *Ion*, 148; *Iph. Taur.* 1257; Plut. *de Pyth. orac.* 17; 402 C.

(Athens)”. *μεγαλόπολις*: Pind. *Pyth.* VII, 1, etc., with names of cities. *εὐχαῖσι*: the prayer-hymns accompanying sacrifice are put for the whole of worship; cf. Thuc. VII, 75, 7. 11. *Τριτωνίδος*: the use of the word as a noun is Hellenistic (Crus.). 12. *ἄθραυστον*: not devastated by the Gauls (Weil). *Ἄφαιστος*: cf. *Iliad*, II, 426; IX, 468, etc.; Soph. *Ant.* 1007. 14. *νιν*: clearly dative. As to incense burned with thighs, cf. von Prott, *Leg. Gr. Sacr.* I, No. 5, 1. 38. *ἀτμός*: Alexis, *Frag.* 124, 16 (Meineke, *Com. Att. Frag.* II, p. 341), parodies a passage where the word means smoke of sacrifice. 15. *αἰόλοις*, like Pindar’s *ποικίλος*, is an epithet transferred from vision (cf. v. 24) to hearing; cf. Eurip. *Ion*, 499. 16. *κρέκει*: transferred from stringed instruments to the flute. Apparently the flute music is distinguished from the hymns with which the cithara was used. *ἄδύθρους*: cf. Eurip. *Electra* 703. 17. The hymn was sung by Attic “artists”.

(Col. II) 19 *κιθαρίσει*, if it be correct, is a very natural reference to the description of the present sacrifice, v. 17. 20. The poet returns from the description of this sacrifice to the legend of Apollo’s coming to Delphi. *ἄκρονιφῆ*, a new compound. 22. Cf. the third hymn, v. 23. 23. The hymn resembles in many points the lyric passage treating the same material in Eurip. *Ion* 1234 f.;* cf. also Paus. X, 6, 6. 24. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 11, *αἰόλος δράκων ἐλικτός*. 25. The hissings appear also in the next hymn v. 32. 26. *Ἄρης* in the sense of army, Aisch. *Pers.* 86, 951; Euripides uses it in this sense fourteen times.†

The general structure of the poem shows a marked contrast with the paean considered before. Although I, 1–10 and II belong clearly to the same class of composition, and the picture is filled out slowly and in detail, nevertheless the style is not at all overburdened. The stately movement of these sections is in striking contrast with the intervening passage where the poet describes the present sacrifice. In this, the most characteristic passage of the poem, the description is broken into short terse statements

* Appendix I, § 1, p. 106.

† Reichenberger, *Metonymischer Gebrauch von Götternamen*, p. 71.

which follow each other with great rapidity. Crusius compares the close of the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo for a similar description, evidently *con amore*, of the joyfulness of present worship. On the whole the material is not new, and even the reference to the Gauls appears to be formal in character, as though the story were familiar and the mode of reference to it were already stereotyped. Here, as before, the language continues the tradition of the lyrics in the Attic drama; the absence of the article is as marked as in the paean before considered, and there is the same fondness for descriptive adjectives. I find but one new compound ἀκρονιφή, v. 20, but the percentage is considerable of words found only in lyrics of the Attic drama or in late hymns.

The rhythm is cretic in character, and flows on without interruption from beginning to end, so that it is unusually difficult to divide the poem into cola. The few examples of this rhythm that remain to us show a marked increase in the freedom with which the resolved forms of the foot, the first and fourth paeon, are used. In Aristophanes they are used quite freely, but always in an uninterrupted series of either the one or the other so that a long series of short syllables is avoided. According to the figures of Crusius the cretic occurs 43 times, the first paeon 17 times, the fourth paeon 16 times, and the orthius 4 times. Many long syllables, however, are separated by the music into two parts; so that the number of cretics is reduced to 25, and the numbers of the other forms become (following the same order as before) 20, 28, 7. The first paeon is followed by the fourth paeon once, in line 6; and the music, by resolving long syllables, often brings a long series of short syllables in succession, as in lines 8-9 where thirteen short tones follow in succession. As for the division into cola Crusius starts with Aristotle's familiar statement that the fourth paeon is a proper rhythm ending, because it ends with a long syllable. The hiatus occurs once, v. 17, and a similar verb at the end of the fourteenth line, marked by the same rhythmical phrase, suggests a corresponding break there. Following such data Crusius arranges much of the poem in pentameter lines; the first lines, however, would be more complicated. Making a

break after ἀδύνους, a second after εὐώλενοι, and a third after χρυσεοκόμαν the first line would be of five feet, the second of seven, the third of six. The next colon of Crusius runs from ὃς ἀνὰ to ἐπινίσεται with breaks after Παρνασσίδος and εὐνύδρου. In many instances this arrangement into cola is reflected in the music. Neither music nor rhythm shows any definite trace of strophic arrangement.

The values of the musical notes are given as accurately as is possible in modern notation, in the following table (B.C.H. XVII, 1893, p. 591). The notes placed in brackets represent only approximately the value of the ancient symbols.

E flat	F	[E flat]	Θ
G	Φ	F	Γ
[A flat]	Υ	[G flat]	B
B sharp	O	G sharp	Ϝ
C	M	[A flat]	ϙ
[D flat]	Λ	[A sharp]	✱
[D sharp]	K		
D	I		

It would seem that there could be but one answer to the question as to the occasion for which the hymn was written. The description of the altar scene which occupies the central place in the poem, is conclusive evidence that it was written for use at the altar while the sacrifice was in progress. It is true that Weil regarded it as a προσόδιον; but there is no vestige of evidence in favor of this position except the emendation—ἴθι, v. 10—which has since been abandoned by the French editors themselves. Hymns at the altar accompanied by the dance* were called παιᾶνες or ὑπορχήματα, and Crusius (p. 61) collects some evidence to show that this cretic metre was peculiarly suited to such dance hymns. The fact that no strophes can be detected, that the composition is a steady progress from beginning to end (p. 62), is additional proof that it was sung with a complicated dance. From the hymn

* *Etym. Mag.* 690, 47.

itself (v. 18) we learn that a group of selected "artists" from Attika perform the hymn to Apollo (v. 12), that the sacrifice is actually in progress and is accompanied by music of flutes (v. 16), that the sweet-toned cithara accompanies the present hymn.

The hymn also furnishes some data for determining the festival at which it was to be sung. The mention of the Galati is an important element in determining the date and the occasion, although the allusion seems to me so formal that it should not receive too much weight. The hymn was sung by Athenian musicians on the occasion of some *theoria* to Delphi. Finally it celebrates the coming of Apollo to Delphi to take possession of the oracle, and refers to the set theme of the conflict with the dragon.

From these data M. Weil infers that the poem was written for the feast of the Soteria, because this was a feast instituted by the Athenians and the Aetolians to commemorate the successful repulse of the Galati. Crusius demolishes this hypothesis (p. 63) by pointing out (a) that the Soteria were really established by the Aetolians, and that even from the Athenian standpoint (C.I.A. II, 323) Athens was only invited with the other allies to participate in the feast, and (b) that in all the Soteria inscriptions Zeus Soter (the god of the Aetolians) occupies a most prominent place.

I do not feel that Crusius's own hypothesis is much more secure. We can but accept his starting point, however,—namely, that the hymn has reference to the coming of Apollo to Delphi. Crusius's conclusion is that this "coming of the god, ἐπιδημία, was celebrated at Delphi in the feast called by Herodotos (I, 53) Θεοφάνια. Now the Theoxenia, a feast celebrated at Delphi in the month of the same name, so runs the argument of Crusius, was certainly an Apollo feast. According to a Pindar scholion (*Ol.* III, p. 91, Böckh) θεοξενίων ἑορταί were feasts offered to the gods when they went away (from Olympus) to the cities. The birth of Apollo, and his first coming to Delphi, "must" have been connected with the legend of the Theoxenia, because a particular rite (Athen. IX, 372 A) has reference to the pregnancy of Leto. In a word, he argues that Theophania and Theoxenia were identical

because both have reference (a) to the birth of Apollo, and (b) to the entertainment of a god who comes from a distance. Finally, a reason is suggested why Herodotos uses the term Theophanía.

If we examine this argument, however, it is clear that, so far as we know, the Theophanía does not refer to the birth of Apollo, nor indeed to the birth of any god. It does not necessarily refer to the entertainment of a god coming from a distance. In fact, it does not *necessarily* refer to Apollo at all, so that the name (Theophanía) may as well be left out of account. To go back to the preceding step of Crusius's argument, we have no warrant for associating Apollo's birth, or his first coming to Delphi, with the Theoxenia. The reference to Leto would place his birth later in the year, *i. e.*, in the early summer; the only natural inference from the passage is that the Delian birthday of Apollo (Thargelion VI) was also regarded as the birthday in Delphic legend.

So much for the argument of Crusius. A slight examination of the subject makes it clear that it is by no means easy to get at the Delphic belief in regard to the coming of Apollo. He was absent from the mantic tripod in the winter; incurring guilt by slaying the Python, he spent eight years in servitude to secure purification; he originally came to Delphi from the Hyperboreans whence he was summoned by Delphic hymns—hymns which seem to have been a part of later cultus; nor is the confusion at all lessened when we are told that Delphi was originally the land of the Hyperboreans where Apollo went for the winter.* Our knowledge of Delphic cultus in winter may start from a passage in Plutarch (*de E ap. Delph.* 9; 389C) where we read that for the three winter months no paeans were sung, but dithyrambos instead, for Dionysos was worshipped instead of Apollo. At the expiration of the three months period, according to Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 9; 292D), comes the birthday of Apollo; and this day, the seventh of the month Bysios, was originally the only day when oracles

* Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Art. Apollon.

were given, if we may believe the "archaeologists" cited by Plutarch, 292E. Farther, Mommsen* has made it plain that for Athenian tragedy Orestes was in Delphi for purification just about the seventh of Bysios. That this should be the birthday of Apollo is quite at variance with the part of Leto in the ritual of the Theoxenia which occurred in the following month. Certainly when this ritual arose, the seventh of Bysios was Apollo's birthday only in the sense that the seventh of every month was his birthday, and very likely this is all that was meant by Plutarch's source. The evidence goes to show that in Bysios Apollo was present at Delphi, and that his monthly birthday was celebrated in this month as it had not been in the preceding winter months. Our knowledge of the Delphic Theophania is limited to the statement of Herodotos (I, 51).

Can any other time be suggested for the coming of Apollo to Delphi? Following the clew suggested but not followed by Crusius, I am inclined to believe that this coming should be placed in the early summer. The hymn of Alkaios, which is preserved to us in outline by Himerios (cited in Appendix I, § 2, p. 101), describes the birth of Apollo in Delos in early summer, the journey to the Hyperboreans, the Delphic hymns summoning the god, and the arrival at Delphi in the summer. It has been well pointed out by Wernicke that two facts are here confused:—a) the birth in Delos and the journey to Delphi, and b) a rite of hymns summoning the god to come to Delphi from his divine home with the Hyperboreans. We do not know when this last rite took place, but in the hymn it is closely connected with the time of year when Apollo was born. And there is no doubt when this event occurred, namely, in early summer. Immediately after the god's birth he is said to have gone to the Hyperboreans, and from there he went to Delphi after a year. The date suggested by the hymn coincides with the belief at Delos in regard to the birthday of the god, namely, that he was born in

* *Delphika*, p. 287.

May-June (Delphic *Herakleios*).^{*} The rite of the Theoxenia referring to the pregnancy of Leto is also in harmony with this date. Mommsen collects the evidence to show that this was the time for the inventory of the temple property and the purification of the temple utensils.[†] All the evidence, then, with reference to Apollo's coming from Delos, and from the Hyperboreans, points to a time in the early summer; we must admit, however, that he was present at the Delphic worship as early as the month Bysios in each year.

We learn that an important Attic *theoria* was sent to Delphi in the Delphic month *Herakleios* to bring the Athenian ἀπαρχαί to Delphi,[‡] and it is quite possible that the present hymn was composed for such an occasion.

The date of the hymn is of course later than the repulse of the Galati (278 B. C.), and if one may judge from the brevity of the reference to so important an event, it was some time later. On epigraphical grounds Pomtow (*Rhein. Mus.* XLIX, p. 595) assigns both this and the following hymn to the half century 185-135 B.C. §

3. THIRD HYMN TO APOLLO.

The third Delphic hymn to Apollo, published in 1894, is described by the French editor as a mosaic of fragments. Some of these had been published in the preceding year (D, C=4, F=7, E=8, 1, 9, 10, 11), while two considerable fragments (or groups of fragments that fitted together accurately) had been discovered later. The first of these was long and contained the body of the hymn; the second furnished the first part of each of the last ten lines of the hymn. The later inscription below the hymn was also filled out by new fragments. The de-

* In Boeotia there was a month called Θειλόυθιος, which Bischoff (*Leipz. Stud.* VII, 343) places between the months called at Delphi *Herakleios* and *Apellaios*. Could this have reference to the coming of Apollo?

† *Delphika*, 313 f.

‡ Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 315.

§ The hypothesis of M. Couve that this hymn and the following one are the hymns referred to in the Delphic decree honoring Kleocharēs (*supra* p. 84, n. 87), was emphatically rejected by M. Weil, and no longer requires discussion. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XVIII, 73 f., 561. *Philol.* LIII, *Ergänz.* p. 131 f.

scription of the stone by the French editors leaves much to be desired. So far as the reproductions show, C and the new long fragment give the upper edge, the left hand edge and the bottom edge of the block on which they were cut; F and D give the upper edge of another block, and the second new fragment gives the left edge of this second block. According to M. Weil, the hymn was engraved in two columns on one block of marble (B.C.H. 1894, p. 345). To this it may be objected that neither the intercolumniation of the lines of the hymn nor of the lines of the inscription below on the second block shows any close correspondence with the intercolumniation of the first part of the hymn. The objection to placing the one over the other is that a blank space seems to be left at the bottom of the first group of fragments.

With reference to the "mosaic" of the French editors, it seems to me incontestable that all the fragments may belong to one hymn. D was at first regarded as a distinct hymn because it was in a different metre and because no syllables were doubled. The completion of the first lines of D shows, however, that these are in paemonic metre, and the absence of doubled syllables is to be explained by the change in the music that corresponds to the change of metre. The presence of the two forms Φ and $\varnothing$ in C does not compel us to separate this fragment from others where $\varnothing$ does not occur. Fragment 1 was dissociated from this group as the result of an error which appears in the first reproduction of it; the musical note was given as Y. Finally the attempt of Weil and Pomtow to separate fragment 11 into two parts belonging to two hymns was rightly rejected by Crusius. The new long fragment shows that considerable difference of work existed in the cutting of the hymn; and farther the sign Y, which is generally assigned to the other system of notation, occurs in the very line of the new long fragment with which the French editors have associated fragment 11.

The question whether all the fragments really belong to the same hymn, and whether they have been correctly arranged, still remains to be considered. The connection of C with the new

40 νεῖς ^I μόλετε [∨] προσπόλοισ<ι>, τάν τε [∪] δορί[<][στεπτον κάρτει]
[<]Ῥωμαίων [∪] ἀρχάν ^C αὔξεται [∪] ἀγῥάτωι ^C θάλ[λουσαν φερε-]
[∪] νίκαν.^C

I End of lines 19-20.

Fragment C = 4 Beginning of lines 1-9.

5 End of lines 1, 2.

D Middle of lines 29-41.

E = 8 End of lines 4-7.

F = 7 Beginning of lines 29-32.

9-10 End of lines 14-16.

II End of lines 20-24.

I Middle of lines 1-10, and beginning of 11-28.

II Beginning of lines 33-42.

Notes on the text:—The text of the fragments is on the whole well assured. 15. the A in καρπογ should be doubled to accord with the practice elsewhere; the second α in γααλ- is inserted above the line; 36. the stone reads ΑΤΟΙΔ for Ἀτθιδ. KT is repeated by the stone-cutter where we are to read ΣΤ. 40. An I is omitted in the longer form of the dative.

The musical notes are doubtful at many points, so much so that M. Foucart asks to have his transcription taken "*sur parole*" (B. C. H. XVIII, 364). I would only call attention to the fact that the stone reads Y instead of ∨ occasionally (cf. 16, 24, 30), while both signs are transcribed ∨.

Notes:—No attempt has been made to restore the first line. The second begins with the last three letters of a word like μόλ]ερε unless we read ι]τε with Crusius. The reference to Parnassos in the latter part of line 2 is about the only instance where later discovery has confirmed the conjectures of the earlier editors. 3. κλιτύς is used of Parnassos in Soph. *Antig.* 1145. The last part of the line is very doubtful; the sense demands ἐξάρχειν rather than κατάρχειν. 4. Πιερίδες has become a fixed epithet of the Muses, so that there is no difficulty in the way of applying it to

the Muses worshipped at Helikon. M. Weil compares Hesiod, *Theogon.* lines 23 and 25. *νιφοβόλους*: cf. Eurip. *Phoen.* 206, where the epithet is also applied to Parnassos. 5. The series of adjectives represents in almost mechanical manner the different sides of Apollo's being. Simonides, 26B [40], gives *χρυσεοκόμας Ἐκατε*; and in the description of Apollo's birth, Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1236, he is called *χρυσοκόμαν ἐν κιθάρα σοφόν*. The exordium ends with the statement of the birth of Apollo, and thus is linked with the following paragraphs. 7. According to the Homeric Hymn, Leto grasped the trunk of the sacred palm in the pains of child-birth; here she merely touches a shoot of the gleaming olive—Athena's tree—and apparently finds supernatural relief.*

9. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 137, where *γηθοσύνη* is used of Delos; and also the account of Apollo's birth in Theognis,

ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη,

10. *γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἄλδς πολίῃς.*

The phrase *οὐράνιος πόλος* occurs also in Eurip. *Frag.* 836, 11. 10. *νηνέμους*: cf. Aristoph. *Aves*, 778; Plutarch, *Mor.* 589 D. *ταχυπετεῖς*: the word is mentioned in Suidas and Eustathios. *δρόμος* is used of a hawk's flight by Aischylos (*Pers.* 207.) *Νηρέως* is a somewhat bold emendation, and the use of *ζαμενές* to denote a physical rather than a mental state is an added objection to the French restoration of the line. *βαρύβρομον*: frequent in Euripides. *οεῖδμα* is justified by the French editors on the supposition that *οει* may stand for the doubled *οι* as *αει* stands for the doubled *αι*, *e. g.*, line 4 of the first hymn. 12. M. Weil cites Eurip. *Orest.* 1377, *Frag.* 935, and *Orph. Hymn.* XI, 14, 15.

14. This version of Apollo's journey to Delphi is distinctly Athenian, in contrast with the account in the Homeric Hymn and in Pindar. Aisch. *Eumen.* 9 f. describes his journey by sea to Attika, from whence the Athenians escorted him to Delphi, preparing a road for him; cf. Ephoros in Strabo, IX, 423. The

* Cf. the note of Crusius, *Delphische Hymnen*, 74-76, on the palm and the olive in the legend of the birth of Apollo.

Athenian version of the story is, of course, intimately connected with the later Attic *theoria* to Delphi. πρωτόκαρπον, a word which does not occur elsewhere, is supplied here with reference to the Athenian belief that Attika was the centre from which the culture of grain was extended to the rest of the world.* 16. The change to the description of the festal procession, which was the prototype of later processions, is quite abrupt. Reinach supplies χέω[ν λωτός ἀναμέλ]πεν . . . αἰεῖολ[οις κιθάριδος μέλεσιν], avoiding some of the difficulties of the text as supplied by Weil. λίβυς . . . λωτός; cf. Eurip. *Helen*. 170 and elsewhere. αἰεόλοις is used as in the second hymn, v. 15. 18. The reading of the stone is not entirely clear. πετροκατοίκητος is a new lyric compound. The only parallel that I find to this mysterious voice is the τὶς ἥχῳ χθόνιος ὡς βροντῇ Διὸς of Euripides (*Hippol.* 1201); nor is Paian in any sense a distinctly Attic name for Apollo. The references to Paian and to Apollo as Paian in the Attic drama all have to do with the god of healing; here it seems more natural to me to assume that the mysterious sound was understood as simply παῖ or ἰήε παῖ, *i. e.*, a cry of greeting to the new born god. As at Delphi the name Paian was referred to the cries encouraging the young child to shoot the monster (Strabo, IX, 422), so these Attic singers refer it to a supernatural greeting of the "child" as he approached the Attic coast. The restoration of Παιάν along with Παιήονα can hardly be regarded as probable. 21. θυρσοπλήξ: the word is found in Hesychios. A sacred association of Bacchic artists from Attika sing the hymn, and very probably it was composed by one of their number. 22. Ἀλλά marks the change to direct address; cf. lines 27 and 38. χρησμφδόν is properly used of a person. 23. θεοστιβέα: the word is found in Proklos and in Christian writers. 24. φιλένθεος: *Orph. Hymn.* XI, 5. The ridge of Parnassos is the ridge at the foot of which the oracle is situated; the reference to the tripod excludes the interpretation of M. Weil, who understands the *peak* of Parnassos. οἰνώπα can hardly mean the golden hair of Apollo (cf. v. 5) nor is it easy to

* Roscher, *Lexikon* II, 1322, 25.

associate it with the laurel. 26. The temple is begun before the conflict with the serpent, cf. Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 294 f. As in the later legend, the serpent is the offspring of earth. 28. *ῥοις*: in the former hymn, v. 24, *βέλεισιν* is restored. 29. The content of these lines cannot be made out at all; *συ]ύριγμ* (former hymn v. 15) is the only word of which we are reasonably sure, and that because the hisses of the serpent were said to have been imitated in the dramatic representation of this conflict in connection with later Delphic ritual. 33. As in the preceding hymn, the conflict with the dragon leads to the mention of the victory over the Galati; the language is like that of the former hymn but more explicit in the mention of the snowstorm. The sacred legend is still more explicit as to its wonders in the time of Pausanias (X, 23, 3).* 35. The change of metre with the closing prayer marks the change of theme with great distinctness. The prayer is first for Athens, then for Delphi, for the servants of Bacchos who sing the hymn, and finally for the prosperity of the Roman state. It is addressed to Apollo, to Artemis, and to Leto,—for certainly the epithet *κνδίστα* suggests Leto, and wherever Artemis and Apollo are mentioned together the mother is also in mind. 39. Another reference to the chorus which sings the hymn; the fact that a society of followers of Bacchos sing hymns to Apollo is an instance of the close association of Apollo and Dionysos at Delphi which is so interesting in connection with the paean to Dionysos. 41. The explicit reference to the Roman state is proof that the hymn is not earlier than the beginning of the second century B.C.

In contents and in diction the second hymn bears a striking family resemblance to the first. The invocation of the Muses, the legend, the reference to the circumstances under which the hymn is sung, the allusion to the Galati, and a concluding prayer, form the contents of each hymn. The main body of the hymn consists of the legend of Apollo's birth, his journey *via Attika* to Delphi, and his victory over the serpent who guarded the oracle. The same topics without the reference to Attika are treated in a similar manner in a choral ode by Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 1234).† The

* Cf. Crusius, Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 2810, 50.

† Printed above in Appendix I, § 1, p. 106.

second hymn begins in the same full periodic style which marked the first and third parts of the first hymn. The reference to Attic worship, and the concluding prayer, are given in short phrases in rapid succession, as though to mark the contrast between the present and the past. This difference of style is accompanied by a change to the second person that makes the contrast even more marked. The article occurs but once or twice, and in general the language shows much more affinity with the Attic drama than with the lyric proper. One peculiarity of style, the series of several adjectives without connecting conjunctions in lines 5, 9, 21, 23, 40, 41, does not appear in the first hymn.

The metre of the hymn is paeonic down to line 45; with the beginning of the prayer at this point the glyconic metre appears. The paeonic metre follows quite closely the same technique as in the former hymn. The division into cola is twice indicated by a paragraph of the stonecutter, lines 8 and 13; in lines 22 and 27 it is shown by the conjunction ἀλλὰ which makes a distinct break in the advance of the thought; at the end of lines 3 and 15 also there seem to be breaks in the metre. The French editors divide the hymn into cola including from two to seven feet, but at many points the restorations are uncertain enough to interfere seriously with the study of the metre. In this hymn as in the last, no traces of strophic arrangement can be detected.

As in the case of the former hymn, I give a table representing the approximate value of these musical symbols in modern notation (B.C.H. XVIII, 375 and plate XXIV).

E	┐	E	□
F	└	F	□
G	F	G	I
A	C	A	≠
B flat	○	B flat	/
B	∩, K		
C	⋈		
D	<		
E flat	∨ (Y)		

For this hymn also the question arises as to the way it was intended to be used. In the former hymn the description of the sacrifice in progress was appropriate only to an altar hymn; here the description of the procession escorting Apollo from Athens to Delphi (vv. 16 ff.) is entirely appropriate to a processional hymn in imitation of the mythical scene that is described. Two reasons may be suggested for holding that this also was an altar-hymn. In the first place it is so like the former hymn in tone and in its whole technique that it was probably written for a similar use. Secondly, the change in metre from the paeonic to the glyconic, while not impossible in a processional, is far more natural in an altar-hymn. The description of Apollo's progress to Delphi is but a short episode lending some variety to the stock theme of Delphic poetry, and the special reason for its appearance in this hymn is the opportunity it gives for mentioning the connection of Athens with Delphic worship. Consequently I am not inclined to argue from an advance depicted in the hymn to any procession in the execution of the hymn.

The data for determining the occasion of the hymn are two-fold. The chorus that perform it are Athenian "artists", and the type of legend is purely Attic. Other cities could tell of the progress of Apollo through their borders on his way to Delphi; here the god follows the course of the regular Attic *theoria* from Athens to Delphi, and the god stops on his way from Delos to give a sign of his marked favor to Athens. Nor is Athens passed over in the concluding prayer. The hymn is clearly for some occasion when Athenian worshippers had a prominent part in the Delphic ritual. Again we look to the theme of the poem for light as to its occasion. The birth of Apollo, his journey to Delphi, his victory over the serpent by which he secured the oracle, and his later protection of the sacred spot,—all is so general as to give no exact clew. The same arguments which were urged against the position that the former hymn was written for the Soteria, apply to this hymn with equal force. Such a hymn as this would be entirely appropriate to the Pythian festival or to a celebration of the *ἐπιδημία* of Apollo.

On epigraphical grounds Pomtow dates this hymn, like the former hymn, between 185 and 135 B.C.; although if the hymns were engraved by Attic stone-cutters, which is by no means impossible, the same grounds would permit us to date them even half a century earlier.

One exceedingly interesting phenomenon in both these hymns* is the fact that when a long vowel is sung to two musical notes it is (with one exception, II, 15) written twice. Such is its importance that I subjoin a list of the cases, vowel by vowel.

α I, † 6, 16, 20, 26, 27, 30. II, 2, 7, 13, 14, 15, 19, 25, 26, 27, 33.

ε I, 7, 28. η I, 23. II, 10. ο I, 15. II, 22.

ω I, 9, 18. II, 3, 15, 19, 22. ι I, 7, 25. υ I, 25. II, 14.
(I. 8. ὕδρον becomes εὐὕδρον.)

αι-αι. I, 4, 10, 15.

αι. I, 7, 13; II, 17.

αυ-αυ. I, 13.

ει-ει. I, 9, 23; II, 3, 17, 23, (33).

οι-οι. I, 4, 12, 15.

ου-ου. I, 2, 13, 23; II, 7.

4. THE PAEAN TO DIONYSOS.

Two years after the publication of the second hymn with musical notes, M. Weil published in the Bulletin a fourth hymn found at Delphi, this time a paean to Dionysos. The hymn is, as we shall see, perhaps a century older than those already considered, but it lacks the special interest of having signs for the musical notes. The stone on which this hymn was originally cut had later been utilized as a paving stone, and to this circumstance the inscription owes its preservation. Fifteen fragments had been found and put together by M. Homolle before the original publication, and ten smaller bits were discovered during the next two

*The manner in which vowels and diphthongs are doubled affords some interesting data for determining their pronunciation in this period. Cf. American Philological Association: XXVI, Proceedings of the Special Session, 1894. p. ivf.

† I. Second hymn to Apollo. II. Third hymn to Apollo.

years ; the position of these smaller fragments remains for the most part uncertain. As reconstructed the stone measures .87 metres where it is broadest, and .875 at its greatest height. The hymn is inscribed *stoichedon* in two columns of fifty lines each, each line containing a few more than thirty letters. Sometimes the *iota* is written with another letter in the space allotted to that letter, once two *omicrons* (or probably a *theta* and an *omicron*), are written in the space of one letter ; nor is the stone-cutter consistent in his treatment of the punctuation point before the refrain, and of a final vowel elided before an initial vowel. Bearing in mind these deviations from strict uniformity, the editor has of course found the *stoichedon* writing of great help in reconstructing the hymn. Where the stone was found is not stated by the French editor. Presumably it was not found with the other hymns, *i. e.*, in connection with the treasure house of the Athenians ; it is the more interesting in that it is *not* an Athenian product, nor does it give a legend that is cast in Athenian mould. Its content is quite new, quite original ; moreover it deals with important events in the history of Delphic cultus during that period when the Macedonian power was winning its final triumphs in Central Greece, so that it may be ranked as one of the most important inscriptions yielded by the French excavations at Delphi.

- I. [Δεῦρ', ἄνα Δ]ιθύραμβε Βάκχε
 ε[ῦ]ιε, θυρσ[ῆ]ρες, βραι-
 τά, βρόμι'(ε), ἡρινα[ῖς] ἱκοῦ
 ταῖσδ(ε)] / ἱεραῖς ἐν ὤραις ·
 5 Εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ Βάκχ' ὦ ἱ[ὲ] Παιά]ν' /
 [ὀ]ν Θήβαις πότ' ἐν εὐίαις
 Ζη[νὶ] γείνατ[ο] / καλλίπαις Θυώνα ·
 πάντες δ' / [ἀθά]νατοι [χ]ό/ρευ-
 σαν, πάντες δὲ βροτοὶ χ[ά]ρη-
 10 σαν σαῖς,] Βάχχιε, / γένναις.
 'Ιὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτή[ρ],
 εὐφρων τάνδε] / πόλιν φύλασσ'
 εὐαίωνι σὺν [ὄλβωι.] /

- II. *Ην, τότε βακχίαζε μὲν
 15 χθῶ[ν μεγαλῶννμός] / τε Κά-
 δμου Μινυᾶν τε κόλπ[ος Αὔ-
 γε]ιά τε / καλλίκαρπος ·
 Εὐοῖ ᾧ ἰὸ Β[άκχ]’ ᾧ ἰῆ] Παιάν’ /
 πᾶσα δ’ ὑμνοβρύης|χόρεν-
 20 ε[ν Δελφῶ]ν ἱερὰ / μάκαιρα χώρα ·
 αὐτὸς δ’ ἄσπερόεν [δ]έμας /
 φαίνων Δελφίσι σὺν κόραις
 [Παρν]ασσοῦ / πτύχας ἔστας.
 ’Ιὲ Παιάν κ.τ.λ.
- III. [Οἶνοθα]λὲς δὲ χειρὶ πάλ-
 λων δ[έπ]ας ἐνθέοις / [σὺν οἷσ-]
 τροις ἔμολες μυχοῦς [’Ελε]ν-
 30 σῖνος ἄν’ / [ἀνθεμῶ]δεις ·
 Εὐοῖ ᾧ ἰὸ Βάκχ’ ᾧ ἰ[ῆ Παι]άν’ /
 [ἔθνος ἔνθ’] ἅπαν Ἑλλάδος
 γᾶς ἀ[μφ(ι) ἐ]νναέταις / [φίλιον] ἐπ[όπ]ταις
 ὀργίων δ[οσ]ίων *Ια]κ-
 35 χον / [κλείει σ]ε · βροτοῖς πόγων
 ὤξ[ας δ’ ὄρ]μον / [ἄλνπον ·]
 ’Ιὲ Παιάν κ.τ.λ.
- IV. 40 [Παννυχίσιν] δὲ καὶ χοροῖς . . .
- V. [*Ε]ν[θεν ἐ]π’ ὀλβίας χθονὸς
 Θε[σσαλίας] ἔκελ/σας ἄ-
 55 στη, τέμενός τ(ε) ’Ολύμπι[ον]
 Πιερ]ίαν / τε κλει[τ]άν ·
 Εὐοῖ ᾧ ἰὸ Βάκχ’ [ᾧ ἰῆ Παι]άν’ /
 Μοῦσαι [δ’] αὐτίκα παρθένοι
 κ[ρισσῶι] στε/[ψ]άμεναι κύκλωι σε πᾶσαι
 60 μ[έλψαν] ἀθάνα/[τον] ἐς αἰ
 Παιᾶν’ εὐκλέα τ’ ὁ[πὶ κλέο]ν-
 σαι’ / [κα]τὰρξε δ’ ’Απόλλων.
 ’Ιὲ Παιάν κ.τ.λ.

VI. ΣΕΥ . Θ . ΕΤ ΑΣ Τ . Τ Ι Μ Ι Σ Ο Ρ Ι
 ΚΑΝΕ ΞΕ Σ Ι Π Υ Θ Ο Χ Ρ Η σ τ Ι Α Χ Α Ν
 ΝΕΑ Ι : ΕΥ Ο Ι Ω Ι Ο Β Α Κ Χ ω ι ε π α ι α Ν
 Ε Μ Ι Λ Ε . . . Δ Α Ι Δ Π Ι Ε

 Ν Φ Ο

VII. ΠΑΛ (ΕΡΟΓ)
 ΡΩΝ Φ Ι Λ (Ι Σ Ε Α Σ)
 ΩΝ Π Ρ Ο Φ Η (: ΕΥ Ο Ι Ω Ι)
 ΝΟΜ Ο Θ Ε Τ (Ο . ΜΑΚΑΙ)
 ΓΑΛ Α . κ (ΤΑΣΟ Ι ΠΡΑ)
 ΟΣ (ΧΟ ΡΟΝΝΕ)

VIII. ΝΑΠΕΜΠΕ . .
 Ο Ι Σ Ε ΒΟΥ . .
 Ο σ Δ Υ Σ Α Ν τ .
 σ Ι Ν Ε Χ Ρ Θ Θ Π ο
 . Ε Χ Ω Ρ Α Ν Ε Α Ε
 Π Α Τ Ρ Ω Ι Ι ε π α ι α ν ι θ ι Σ Ω Τ Η Ρ ε ν φ ρ ω ν
 Τ Α Ν Δ Ε Π Ο Λ Ι Ν Φ Υ Λ α σ Σ Ε Υ Α Ι Ω Ν Ι Σ υ Ν Ο Λ β ω ι

IX. 105 'Εκτελέσαι δὲ πρ[ᾱ]ξίν 'Αμ-
 φι[κ]τύο[να]ς θ[ε]οῖς / κελεύ-
 ει τάχος, ὥ[ς] ἐπ[ὶ]άβολος
 μὴν ἰκέ[τ]α[ς] κατὰσχη·
 Εὐοῖ ᾧ [ἰὸ Β]άκχ' ᾧ ἰὲ Παιάν.
 110 δε[ῖξαι] / δ' ἐγ ξενίοις ἐτεί-
 οισ θ[ε]ῶν ἱερῶν γένει / συναίμωι
 τόνδ' ὕμνον, θυ[σ]ίαν τε φαί-
 νει[ν] / σὺν Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίας
 πα[νδ]ήμοις ἰκετε[ί]αις.
 'Ιὲ Παιάν κ.τ.λ.

X. 118 'Ὡ μάκαρ ὀλβία τε κεί-
 νων γε[νέ]α βροτῶν, / ἀγῆ-
 120 ρων ἀμείαντον ᾧ κτίσῃ
 ναὸ[ν] ᾧ νακ[τι] / Φοίβωι :

Εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ Βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ Π[αιάν']
 [ν]ε[ο]/χρύσειον χρυσέοις τύποις
 πα / . . . N . ONΓ κύκλου
 125 ΡΩ/δογ κόμαν
 δ' ἀργαίνοντ' ἐλέφαντι κ[υδρὸν]/
 δ' αὐτόχθονι κόσμωι.
 'Ιὲ Παιάν κ.τ.λ.

XI. 131 Πυθιάσιν δὲ πενθετή-
 ροισ[ι τ]ροπαί[ς] / ἔταξε Βάκ-
 χου θυσίαν χορῶν τε πο[λ]-
 135 λῶν] / κυκλίαν ἄμιλλαν
 Εὐοῖ ὦ ἰ[ε] Βάκχ' [ὦ ἰὲ Παι]/άν
 τεύχειν ἄλιοφεγγ[έ]σ[ι]ν
 δ' ἀρχο[ύσαις] / ἴσον ἄβρὸν ἄγαλμα Βάκχο[ν]
 ἐν ΕΠ . Ρ . . . / χρυσέωλ λεόν-
 140 των στῆσα[ι] ζαθέωι τε τ[εῦ-]/
 ξαι θεῶι πρέπον ἄντρον.
 [']Ιὲ Παιά[ν] κ.τ.λ.

XII. 'Αλλὰ δέχεσθε βακχ[ια]σ-
 145 τὰν Δι[ό]νυσ[ον, ἐν / δ' ἄγνι-]
 αῖς ἄμα σὺν γ[χορ]οί[σ]ι κ[ι-]
 κληίσκετε] / κισσ[οχ]αῖταις
 [Εὐο]ῖ ὦ ἰὸ Βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ [Παιάν']
 ΠΑΣΑΝ ε ΛΛΑΔΑΝΟΛ β ι ΑΜΙΑΝ ITE
 ΠΟΛ . . Υ . . ΣΤΕΑ . . . Α Σ . . Ρ Ε Π Ι
 Α ω Ν . . . Ι ο . . ε . . . Κ Υ Κ Λ Ι
 . Ν Α . ΥΓΙΕΙΑΕ Ι ΕΠΑ ι ΑΝ ι Θ Ι Σ Ω Τ η ρ ε ν φ ρ ω ν
 τΑΝΔΕΠΟΛΙΝφν ΑΑΣΣΕΥ Α Ι Ω Ν Ι

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Φιλοδάμ[ωι Αἰν]ησιδάμον Σκαρφεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
 'Επιγένε[ι]
 . . ντίδαι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ[γόνοις] προξενίαν προμ[αν]τεῖαν προεδρίαν προδικ[ίαν]
 [ἀτέ]λειαν ἐπι[τιμ]ὰν καθ[άπερ Δε]λφοῖς· ἄρχοντος 'Ετυμώνδα, βουλευόντων
 [Πλ]είστωνος Καλλικε [lacuna of two lines] τὸμ παιᾶνα τὸν εἰς τὸν
 Διόνυσον . . .
 [One-half line.] -αν μαντεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπαγγελιατ . . .
 [One-half line.] ρη . . αι τυχαῖαθαι.

Notes on the text: 2. Weil also suggests [κισσῆ]pes, cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1131. 21. The small fragment POEN inserted here confirms the conjecture of Wilamowitz von Moellendorf. 33. The stone reads ΠΑΣ for ΓΑΣ. 56. Stone, ΚΑΕΙΓΑΝ. 79. The fragment inserted in strophe VII (in brackets) cannot be placed in strophe IV, and probably not in strophe VIII. 98. Stone, ΕΧΡΟΟΠ[Ο]. Weil, ἐχθοδοπ-. Exchanging Θ and Ρ, we may read ἐχθροπο-. 121 and 126 are corrected B.C.H. 1897, p. 511. 124. Weil suggests πα[μφαῖ] as possible.

Notes: 1. [Δ]ιθύραμβε: cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 526; there is no other reference in this hymn to the double birth of Dionysos. 2. θυρσῆpes is conjectured by Weil, who forms the word after the analogy of λογχῆpes. βραιτά is problematical, but M. Bourget says that the reading of the stone cannot be questioned. M. Weil suggests a connection with φραίω for βραίω; M. Breal transposes two letters and connects it with βριάω. If the word is correctly cut on the stone, it no doubt has some connection with the name of the Macedonian tribe Βραισοί, which, according to Stephanos of Byzantium, was mentioned by Dionysios in the third book of his Βασσαρικοί,—evidently a book which dealt with some subject relating to the worship of Dionysos. 3. ἡριναῖς, the paean is an invitation to Dionysos to be present at the festival of the Theoxenia (cf. v. 110). 5. In this refrain is the first occurrence of the phrase ἰὸ Βάκχε, although hymns called ἰὸ Βακχοί are mentioned not infrequently in late writers. 6. εὔτε, cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 238, but not elsewhere with names of places; the whole matter of the jealousy of Hera and its results is passed over by the poet, and Semele is mentioned by her "divine" name (Hom. *Hymn.* XXXIV, 21; Charax, *Frag.* 13). 8. The birth of Dionysos, like that of Apollo in the previous hymn, is celebrated as an event of universal importance. 10. γένναῖς the word is not used elsewhere for the occasion of birth. 11-13. The refrain is repeated at the end of each double strophe. It is quite probable that, while the simple paean refrain was used in Attika, in Delphic worship some longer form like this may have been usual; certainly some of the words appear in Soph. *Philoct.* 828 f, in Eurip. *Bacch.* 426. and especially in the *Ion* of Euripides, lines 124, 141.

II, 16. The worship of Dionysos in festivals under the name of Agrionia prevailed in the regions mentioned here. Homer, *Iliad*, II, 532, mentions Skarphe and Augeiai; the form Αὔγεια occurs in Stephanos of Byzantium, and the reason for its mention here is found in the fact that in the inscription which follows the hymn, the author of the hymn calls himself an inhabitant of Skarphe.

19. ὕμνοβρύης, cf. κισσόβρυος, *Orph. Hymn.* XXX, 4. 21. Dionysos is called by Sophokles (*Antig.* 1147) χοράγ' ἄστρων. 22-23. cf. Sophokles, *Antig.* 1126-1128, *Oed. Col.* 680 f.; Eurip. *Ion.* 714 f. The function of the Thyiads at Delphi is well known.

III, 28. Weil also suggests δέπας, which seems much more natural with the verb πάλλων than does δέπας; cf. the scene Aristoph. *Ran.* 324 f. 28. ἐνθέοις [. . . οἶσ']τροις: if the noun is correctly supplied—and the word is used more than once of Dionysos elsewhere (e.g., Eurip. *Bacch.* 119)—the adjective has an active sense for which I find no parallel. 29. μύχους: Sophokles (*Antig.* 1120) uses κόλποις of Eleusis, and the idea of Sophokles's adjective, παγκοίνοις, is repeated in v. 32 here. Eleusis is made prominent in the hymn, partly because the festival there also is pan-Hellenic and therefore rightly held in honor by a Macedonian Greece, partly because of the importance of Dionysos in the mysteries of Eleusis. 30. [ἀνθεμῶ]δεις; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 449. 33. [ἐ]νναέταις: The enneateric cycle was not peculiar to Delphi, but so far as we can learn it had no place in the Eleusinian cultus. Apparently the word is transferred from the Delphic "mysteries," in which Dionysos was represented every eight years as descending to Hades to bring up his mother Semele to Olympos, to these pan-Hellenic mysteries. Certainly it would not seem unnatural for a poet from Lokris, writing a Delphic hymn, to regard mysteries elsewhere as regulated by a cycle like that at Delphi. For Iakchos in the epoptic drama cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 316 f. 36. [ὄρ]μον apparently refers to a haven beyond the grave; if it be understood as a reference to wine, it is the only one in the paean. The Dionysos of Delphi was the god of nature-life rather than specifically the god of the vine.

IV, 40. [Παννυχίσιν.] Nightly festivals were not peculiar to Eleusis, but were a common feature of the worship of Dionysos;

cf. Soph. *Antig.* 152, etc. It is possible that this stanza continues the description of the part played by Dionysos at Eleusis, but in view of the separateness of the other stanzas this seems hardly probable. And if it tells of his farther journeys, where was he represented as going? In the two preceding stanzas and in the following one, he goes about, not introducing the culture of the vine, but receiving the homage of his worshippers at the great cult-centres of Dionysiac worship. Here he may have gone "over the straits" (Soph. *Antig.* 1145) to Euboea, or we may think of him as greeted with nightly festivals and choruses in Lydia or in Thrace.

V, 54. After his journeys over the sea Dionysos finds harbor in Thessaly, and among the Muses of Olympos. The connection of Dionysos with Olympos is mentioned by Euripides (*Bacch.* 554), and in an Orphic hymn (XLV, 4); Euripides also places him with the Muses at the Pierian shrine. 59. The Muses become "maenads" in their greeting to Dionysos. On the island of Naxos, Dionysos usurps the title of Apollo, and becomes a *Μουσάγέτης*,* but here Apollo leads the chorus of the Muses in performing a paean to Dionysos. We are not to forget that the present hymn is a paean at a festival of Apollo, but performed in honor of Dionysos.

VI, 66. *τάς [τε] τίμ[ας ἐν θεοῖς ?] ορι* 68. *πυθοχρη[στ]* *ἰαχάν*. Perhaps we may understand from the fragmentary words that the Pythian oracle claims to have had some share in causing honors to be paid to Dionysos. 72. *δαδ-* must refer to the torches in the hands of the attendants of Dionysos, which gave its name to the Delphic month Daidaphorios. This was the time of Dionysos's birth, and it was also the time (in alternate years) when he returned to Delphi to take Apollo's place during the winter months.

VII, 82. . . *ων προφήτ[αι ?]*. cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 552; or is Dionysos the mouth-piece of the divine will in the absence of Apollo? 84. The *nomothetai* are no doubt the Amphiktyonic council, or some mythical predecessors of this council, which had as its function the regulation of worship at Delphi. This stanza probably

* Bull. Corr. Hell. 1878, p. 587, No. 3.

contained an account of the reception of Dionysos at Delphi, and of the arrangements for his worship there.

VIII, 94. . . να πεμπε . . . 95. οἱς ἐβουλ . . . seem to refer to the worship of Dionysos which is instituted at Delphi. Judging from the next stanza we should infer that the latter lines of the present stanza outlined some definite plan for the completion of the temple, perhaps a plan for that part of the temple which served for the worship of Dionysos; the fragmentary words which remain do not shed any definite light on the content of the lines.

IX, 105. πρᾶξιν : does this refer to some part of the construction of the temple? The publication of the commands of the oracle through a hymn like the present one is a novelty; but while it is a hymn in honor of Dionysos, it is sung at a festival of Apollo and it is not at all inconsistent that it should contain the commands of Apollo with reference to the worship of Dionysos. ἱκέ[τ]α[ς] are the worshippers who come to attend a Delphic festival, and probable the μῆν is the time of the Pythian games; the work is to be completed in the interval of four or five months. 110. The god's command also contained a proviso for the performance of the present hymn, and the offering of a sacrifice to Dionysos. ξενίοις . . . θ[ε]ῶν are the Theoxenia, distinguished from the ξένια ἡρώων performed in the fall in the month Boathoos. The hymn is to be interpreted as giving the place of honor to Dionysos at the banquet to which Apollo invited the gods. 111. ἱερῷ γένοι συναίμψις Apollo, the god in whose behalf the festival is celebrated.

X, 118. The command of the oracle is interrupted as the vision of the completed temple rises before the mind of the poet. M. Weil remarks that such a description was intended by the Delphic priests to stimulate contributions to the depleted temple funds. 120. ἀμίαντρον, for the temple had not long before been violated by the Phocians. 123. The latter part of the stanza refers apparently to the temple statue of gold and ivory, It is of gold, with golden "figures"; its hair is mentioned; its foreign ivory, as well as its indigenous gold. A golden statue of Apollo in the temple at Delphi is mentioned by Philochoros, *Frag.* 23, and by Paus. X, 24, 5. τύποις can hardly mean other temple carvings; but whether it means other figures in connection with the statue proper, or carvings upon it or its base, is not clear.

XI, 131. Dionysos is also to have a share in the worship at the Pythian games—so continues the command of the god from IX, above—and a contest of choruses is to be performed in his honor. The reference to the penteteric Pythian festival implies that this hymn was performed at the Theoxenia of some other year than the year of the greater Pythian festival, *i.e.*, not in the third year of an Olympiad. 132. $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\alpha\iota[s]$: strictly speaking the Pythian festival did not coincide with the summer solstice, but came in the second month of the Delphic year, *i.e.*, in Boukatios. There is some reason for thinking that in earlier times the festival had occurred in the month Apellaios, which would bring it as close to the summer solstice as it was possible for a festival regulated by the moon to be. 135. The cyclic choruses of the dithyramb were a typical part of the worship of Dionysos. It is contrary to Greek practice to assume with M. Weil that choruses of different ages competed with each other; nor is there anything in the language to suggest choruses of different ages. The introduction of Dionysos worship at the festival which was most closely associated with Apollo is very significant. The lines between the gods were breaking down, and the god of the nascent life of nature had now become so closely akin (v. 111) to Apollo, that his dithyramb music and Apollo's more sober music were to be enjoyed by the same audience at the same festival. 137. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\phi\epsilon\gamma\gamma[\acute{\epsilon}]\sigma[\iota]\nu$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron[\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma]$ $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu$. The return of Dionysos to Delphi (and in alternate years his birth) were celebrated in the month Daidaphorios, which next followed the equinox. This important event of the old Delphic year was still to be honored, though Dionysos was worshipped in the summer, and on this occasion it was to be celebrated by the erection of a statue of Dionysos on a car drawn by lions, and by the preparation of a cave for the god. The lion or the panther is represented with Dionysos not infrequently on vases, and on one archaic vase the god is drawn by four creatures, of which two are apparently lions (Roscher, *Lex.* I, 1095, 60)*. The cave is a place of worship which Dionysos shares with the nymphs, Pan, and other distinctly nature divinities. Caves of Dionysos are specifically mentioned by Plutarch (*Moral.* 565 F), and by Sokrates of Rhodes, (quoted by Athenaios, 148 B).

* Cf. Dionysos drawn by panthers on a vase in Berlin (Ftw. 3257).

XII. The hymn ends with a bidding to the Greeks assembled at this festival of Apollo, to receive Dionysos, and honor him with choral dance. The last lines cannot be made out, but they begin with a pan-Hellenic sentiment, and they either state that the result of cyclic dances will be the gift of health from the god, or more probably they contain a prayer for health and other blessings as the result of the worship.

The inscription includes the vote of the Delphians honoring the author of the hymn as well as the hymn itself, and by means of this vote the hymn can be quite accurately dated. Etymondas as we learn from inscriptions discovered by the French, was at the head of the board of *naopoioi* for the five years between 332/31 and 328/27, and he was a member of the same board in the year 336/35. In the list of Delphic archons compiled by M. Bourguet (for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) the last three years of Olympiad 110 are not accounted for (339/38-337/36), and the list is interrupted beginning with the year 328/27. The French editor concludes that the hymn was performed at the Theoxenia before the quadriennial Pythia, *i. e.*, in the second year of an Olympiad. The decree would naturally be passed immediately after the performance of the hymn, in which case Etymondas was archon in the second year of an Olympiad, either Ol. 110, 2=339/38 or after Ol. 112. The allusions in the hymn itself may be explained on either supposition, and the character of the letters is said to correspond to those of this period.

Of the author himself nothing is known except what is stated here, namely that he came from Skarphe. It is interesting to note that the decree calls the hymn a paean to Dionysos, and recognizes that it proclaims an oracle of the god.

In literary character this paean resembles the paean of Aristonoos much more closely than the hymns with musical notes, although it is more simple. Before the first refrain in each instance we have a single phrase with one principal verb, and after the refrain come two such phrases; the absence of dependent clauses is quite noticeable. As in the paean of Aristonoos, each noun has some one descriptive adjective, often an unusual compound. Only two of these compounds, however, are new—19 ὑμνοβρύνης, and 137 ἀλωφεγγέσιν. The repetition of the word ἄλβιος in the hymn

proper (lines 53, 118, 149), is an indication of the joyous festival for which the hymn was written ; unless, indeed, it be understood as a welcome to the extending power of Macedon.

The metre of this paean is glyconic, with two Ionic cola in the refrains. Before the first refrain is a group of four (first) glyconics, the last being catalectic (pherecratean). No tribrachs or irrational trochees occur in these lines. The refrain is an Ionic trimeter acatalectic, in which the two short syllables of the first foot are replaced by a long syllable. After the first refrain the first member consists of a glyconic (second) and a phalacean ; the second member of three (second) glyconics, the last of which is catalectic. Both tribrachs and irrational trochees occur in each foot in the verse. The final refrain consists of an Ionic dipody, and two (second) glyconics, the last of which is catalectic. In each instance the first foot is irrational. The following scheme shows just where substitutions occur :

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \\ - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \\ - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \\ - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \end{array} \right.$$

Refrain:

$$- - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \\ - \cup - \cup \cup \cup \cup - \cup - \end{array} \right.$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \cup - \cup \cup \cup \cup - \\ - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \\ - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \end{array} \right.$$

Refrain:

$$\cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - - - \cup \cup - \cup - \\ - - - \cup \cup - \cup - \end{array} \right.$$

In the case of this hymn, as of the other hymns, we must ask as to the manner in which it was performed. A paean may be a processional hymn sung by the chorus with its leader, like the paean in the Homeric hymn to Apollo ; or it may be an altar hymn, sung with a dance-step before the altar during the progress of a sacrifice. In the metre as well as in literary style this hymn resembles the paean of Aristonoos, and this, as we have seen, was a processional hymn sung by a chorus which went to receive a

procession in which the experience of Apollo himself was represented. The resemblance between these two Delphic paeans is sufficient to justify the belief that they were written to be used in the same manner. Perhaps additional evidence for this view may be found in the fact that the paeon before us mentions the first paeon to Dionysos which was sung by Apollo and the Muses to greet the new god on his arrival at Mt. Olympos. The paeon of Philodamos is not an altar hymn, but a processional paeon in the same sense that the paeon of Aristonoos is, *i. e.*, it was written to be sung by a chorus going to greet a god, here a god who has accepted Apollo's invitation to the Theoxenia.

The references in this paeon to the seasons of the Delphic year are very explicit. The spring festival of the Theoxenia at which the hymn was performed, is mentioned lines 3, 4, and 110, 111. The quadriennial Pythian games are mentioned line 131 as occurring at the summer solstice, and the influx of strangers to these games is referred to in lines 107, 108. The fact that the quadriennial festival is mentioned the second time, might suggest that the annual festival was in the mind of the writer the first time it was mentioned. This is improbable, and yet it raises the question whether we can confidently date the Theoxenia at which the paeon was performed, in the second year of an Olympiad. The Pythian games were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, but the religious part of the festival was repeated in the three intervening years. Finally the autumn equinox, the season when Apollo's sway in Delphi gave way to that of Dionysos, is to be signalized by the erection of a golden statue to Dionysos.

The *xenia* in the fall differed from other festivals of the same name (if we may trust the scholium on Pind. *Nem.* VII, 68), in which men entertained the god in that here the god invited heroes to share *his* hospitality. The Theoxenia* in the spring were primarily in honor of Apollo and his mother Leto, but the invitation to Pindar (cf. *Vita Pind.* p. 92, West.) indicates that here also Apollo was really host rather than guest at the banquet. One may well hesitate to accept the gloss of Hesychios (θεοξένια ·

* On the Theoxenia, cf. Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 299f., and Deneken, *de Theoxeniis*.

κοινῇ ἑορτῇ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς) as evidence that "all the gods" shared the Delphic Theoxenia; on the other hand we are justified in laying some weight on the fact that the Roman *lectisternia*—which were modelled after Greek *theoxenia*—were celebrated in honor of a group of gods, perhaps the twelve great gods. Even if we suppose that "all the gods," *i. e.*, the greater gods, were invited with Apollo to a banquet of which Apollo was the host, it still seems to me highly improbable that Dionysos would be included. According to Delphic legend, at this season he was dead—every other year,—and his grave was shown in the temple of Apollo; and if we do not press this point, we must remember that according to older Delphic belief Dionysos was absent from Delphi after Apollo's return. His character is so clearly differentiated from that of the other gods (and this is true at Delphi even more than elsewhere), that it seems to me very improbable that he originally had a share with them in the honors of the Theoxenia.

If this inference is correct, the present paean shows a marked change in the *cursus* of Delphic worship. The paean voices the command of the oracle that this god, whose worship at Delphi before had not fully recognized a divine nature in him like that in the other Olympian deities, should share the worship paid to Apollo during the months when Apollo was supreme at Delphi.* He is to be honored with this paean and with a sacrifice at the Theoxenia and with a special competition held in his honor at the Pythian games. Moreover he receives from Apollo the peculiar epithet of Apollo at Delphi, he is to be both Bakchos and Paian; and the hymn in which this command is proclaimed is not a dithyramb, but a paean such as was used in the service of Apollo. The function of the Delphic oracle in directing changes in worship elsewhere in Greece has long been recognized; the present hymn is interesting as showing that the oracle performed a similar function at Delphi itself, for it is the oracle which prescribes the present innovations in Delphic worship. With the development

* On the relation of Dionysos and Apollo in general, see S. Wide, *Skandin. Archiv*, I, 98f., and Wernicke in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, Art. Apollon.

of a pan-Hellenic state, moreover, we find evidence of a universalizing tendency in religion. Not only are the gods cut loose from specific connection with particular localities, not only is Dionysos at Delphi when legend had said definitely that he was somewhere else ; but the very character of the individual gods is losing its specific nature and the gods are in some degree reduced to one type. Delphi appears as the ally of Philip and Alexander, in their effort for a new Greece.

INDEX OF PASSAGES CITED.

NOTE. The indexes include only the body of the work, not the appendixes. In the first index the heavy face numerals refer to the notes in which the passages are quoted.

<i>Aelian, Agroec. Epist.</i> 15,-----	27, p. 6.
<i>Aischylos, Agam.</i> 99,-----	8, p. 4.
121, 139, 159,-----	p. 9.
145,-----	13, 47, p. 5, 15, 19, 47.
246 f.-----	155, p. 58, 59.
644 f.-----	133, p. 43, 44.
848,-----	11, p. 5, 15.
1198 f.-----	35, p. 15, 16.
1248,-----	8, p. 4.
<i>Choeph.</i> 151,-----	129, p. 42, 57.
342 f.-----	125, p. 41, 54.
<i>Pers.</i> 392 f.-----	61, p. 21, 23 f., 48, 54 n.
605,-----	190, p. 62.
<i>Sept.</i> 267, (and schol.)-----	68, p. 22, 53 n., 54.
634 f. (and schol.)-----	186, p. 9, 61 f., 64
867 f.-----	132, p. 43.
<i>Suppl.</i> 1065,-----	9, p. 5.
<i>Frag.</i> 142,-----	10, p. 5, 15.
156,-----	131, p. 43, 54.
244,-----	8, p. 4.
281,-----	171, p. 59.
<i>Alkaios, Frag.</i> 24,-----	p. 50, 53, 101.
<i>Alkman, Frag.</i> 22,-----	148, p. 57, 101.
<i>Anthol. Palat.</i> IX, 420 ; XI, 382 ; XIV, 55,-----	29, p. 5.
<i>Antiphanes, Com. Att. Frag.</i> II, 14,-----	156, p. 58.
II, 45,-----	157, p. 58.
<i>Anton. Liber. Frag.</i> 13 (from Nikander),-----	177, p. 60.
<i>Apollodoros, Frag.</i> 20,-----	168, p. 58.
<i>Frag.</i> 37,-----	p. 10 n.
<i>Apollonios Rhod.</i> II, 701-----	84, p. 26, 49.
IV, 1511,-----	27, p. 6.
Schol. on I, 537,-----	p. 31.
on I, 972,-----	p. 10.
on II, 702 f.-----	86, p. 27.

Archilochos, <i>Frag.</i> 76, -----	164, p. 52 n., 59.
Ariphron, -----	p. 38, 50, 104.
Aristarchos, on Paieon, -----	p. 4.
Aristides, <i>Orat.</i> I, p. 374, 10, -----	44, p. 19.
505, 15, -----	124, p. 41, 54.
Schol. on I, 215 C, -----	205, p. 62.
Aristonoos, -----	p. 27, 112 f.
Aristophanes, <i>Acharn.</i> 1211 and schol. -----	34, p. 15, 16.
<i>Aves</i> , 1736, -----	p. 11 n.
1761, -----	113, p. 40.
<i>Equit.</i> 407 f. -----	134, p. 35, 40, 45.
1317, -----	178, p. 60 n.
<i>Lysistr.</i> 389, -----	p. 10 n.
1291, -----	113, p. 40.
<i>Pax</i> , 453 f. -----	76, 113, p. 3 n., 23.
555, and schol. -----	178, p. 60 n., 64.
1332, -----	p. 11 n.
<i>Plutus</i> , 634 f. -----	28, p. 35.
<i>Thesmoph.</i> 311, -----	113, p. 40.
1034 f. -----	170, p. 19, 59.
<i>Vesp.</i> 875, 891, -----	134, p. 35, 40, 45, 63 f., 105.
Schol. on <i>Equit.</i> 303 -----	142, p. 47.
Schol. on <i>Plut.</i> 636, -----	p. 3 n.
Aristotle, <i>Rhetor.</i> III, 8; 1409 a 2, -----	142, p. 47.
<i>Pol.</i> VIII, 5, 8 and 7, 19, -----	p. 51.
Aristoxenos, <i>Frag. Hist. Graec.</i> II, 282, -----	39, p. 16.
in Schol. on Plato, <i>Pol.</i> 383 B, -----	172, p. 59.
Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> VII, 11, 7, -----	184, p. 61.
Athenaios, 20 F, -----	175, p. 60.
139 C, D, -----	96, p. 32.
149 C, -----	149, p. 57.
179 D, -----	150, p. 57.
250 B, -----	151, p. 57.
424 F, -----	92, p. 33, 53.
618 D, 622 A, -----	2, p. 2, 10 n.
919 D, -----	p. 9.
626 B, -----	122, p. 41, 52.
628 A, -----	105, p. 34, 54, 58.
630 F, -----	152, p. 57, 58.
631 B, D, -----	141, p. 33, 34 n., 53 n.
678 C, -----	99, p. 33.
692 F, -----	156, p. 58.
696 B, E, -----	p. 30, 48, 55, 64.

Athenaios, 701 C, -----	73, p. 23, 26 n.
701 E, -----	115, p. 38.
Aulus Gellius, I, 11, -----	63, p. 22.
Babrius, XXIV, -----	173, p. 59.
Bakchylides, <i>Frag.</i> 14, -----	p. 50.
Cicero, in <i>Verrem act.</i> II, iv, 57, 127, -----	23, p. 6.
<i>Tuscul. disput.</i> II, 16, 37, -----	66, p. 22.
Claud. in <i>Rufin.</i> I; <i>Praef.</i> 11, -----	203, p. 64.
Clem. Alex. <i>Paedagog.</i> II, 165, -----	163, p. 59.
Cornutus, <i>Comp. Theol. graec.</i> p. 69, 17, -----	19, p. 5.
Demosthenes, XVIII, 287, p. 321, -----	159, p. 58.
XIX, 338, p. 450, -----	160, p. 58.
Didymos, in <i>Etym. Gud.</i> 446, 51, -----	3, p. 3 n.
ἐν ταῖσιν, -----	1, p. 1.
Diodoros Sic. V, 34, 5, --- } -----	57, p. 20.
XIII, 15, 3, } -----	
XIII, 16, 7, -----	193, p. 62.
XIV, 23, 1, -----	56, p. 20 n., 21.
XX, 16, 4, -----	180, p. 61.
Diogenes Laert. II, 42, -----	108, p. 35.
Dionys. Hal. II, 41, 3, -----	196, p. 62.
VIII, 55, 1 and 65, 6, -----	197, p. 64.
Douris, in <i>Etym. magn.</i> 469, 41, -----	72, p. 3 n., 23.
Epiktetos, <i>Diss.</i> II, 6, 26; IV, 4, 22, -----	201, p. 64.
III, 10, 4, -----	37, p. 16.
Eratosthenes, <i>Frag.</i> 12, -----	p. 10 n.
<i>Etymol. Magn.</i> 133, 32, -----	102, p. 33.
243, 3, -----	p. 3 n.
657, 3, -----	30, p. 14.
<i>Etymol. Orion.</i> 155, 22, -----	206, p. 64.
Euripides, <i>Alcest.</i> 92, 220, -----	16, p. 5, 15.
422, -----	130, p. 14, 42, 48, 54.
<i>Helena</i> , 177, -----	137, p. 44.
<i>Herc. Fur.</i> 685 f. -----	91, p. 31, 53 n.
820, -----	33, p. 15, 16.
<i>Hippol.</i> 1372 f. -----	16, p. 5.
<i>Ion</i> , 124 f. 141, -----	90, p. 30.
902, -----	38, p. 16, 26.
<i>Iphig. Aul.</i> 1467, -----	107, p. 35, 54 n., 54.
<i>Iphig. Taur.</i> 146, -----	p. 51.
179 ff. -----	127, p. 14, 53.

Euripides, <i>Iphig. Taur.</i> 1234 f.	p. 50.
1403 f.	40, p. 16 f., 45, 48, 52.
<i>Cyclop.</i> 664,	128, p. 41.
<i>Phoenis.</i> 1102,	74, p. 24.
1350,	126, p. 35.
<i>Troades</i> , 122 f.	135, p. 19 n., 44, 52.
310, 331,	p. 11 n.
578,	136, p. 44.
<i>Frag.</i> 480,	19, p. 5.
Schol. on <i>Alcest.</i> 424,	168, p. 54.
on <i>Phoen.</i> 1102,	30, p. 14 f., 18 n., 41, 54.
Eustathios, 137, 4; 1275, 38,	30, p. 3 n.
137, 40,	41, p. 18.
564, 5; 1275, 18,	179, p. 60.
1109, 27,	140, p. 49.
Heliodoros, <i>Aethiop.</i> I, 10,	111, p. 38.
Herodotos, II, 79,	p. 9.
V, 1,	191, p. 62, 64.
Herondas, <i>Mim.</i> IV, 1, 79,	21, p. 6.
Hesiod, <i>Scut. Her.</i> 274,	p. 10 n.
<i>Frag.</i> CXXXIX, (220)	7, p. 5.
Hesychios, ἀλαλάζει,	79, p. 24.
Γυμνοπαιδία,	p. 33.
παιᾶνες,	p. 12 n.
τελεσίερον παιᾶνα,	97, p. 32.
Himerios, <i>Orat.</i> XIV, 10,	p. 53, 101.
XXIII, 11,	138, p. 34.
XXXIV, 6,	19, p. 5.
Homer, <i>Iliad</i> , I, 472,	31, p. 14 f., 31, 41.
II, 412,	p. 19.
III, 1 f.; IV, 427 f.; 449 f.	p. 19 n.
V, 401, 899,	4, p. 4, 12 n.
XIII, 835,	p. 19 n.
XI, 339,	26, p. 7.
XIV, 393,	p. 19.
XV, 365; XX, 152,	p. 5.
XVIII, 370,	p. 9.
XVIII, 493,	p. 11.
XXII, 391, and schol.	179, p. 7, 60, 63 f.
XXIV, 718,	p. 61 n.
<i>Odyssey</i> , iv, 231,	5, p. 4 f.
xv, 222,	p. 19 n.
xix, 441,	p. 4.

Homer, <i>Hymn. Apoll.</i> 272, -----	82, p. 25, 52.
353 f., -----	p. 26.
500, 513 f., -----	83, p. 25, 52.
Schol. on <i>Iliad</i> , I, 473, { -----	30, p. 14.
-----	41, p. 18.
on <i>Iliad</i> , XXII, 391, { -----	141, p. 33.
-----	194, p. 62.
Iamblichos, <i>Vita Pythag.</i> -----	39, p. 6.
Isyllos, -----	p. 36.
Julian, <i>Orat.</i> I, 36 B, -----	61, p. 21.
Kallimachos, <i>Hymn. Apoll.</i> 20, -----	p. 9, 31, 49.
97, 102, -----	71, p. 23, 26.
<i>Hymn. Artem.</i> 240, -----	p. 11.
Kallistratos, <i>Descript.</i> X, 4, -----	24, p. 6 n.
Kleochares, -----	p. 29.
Krates, <i>Θηπλα Frag.</i> 15, -----	29, p. 5.
Livy, <i>Hist.</i> XXI, 28, -----	79, p. 24.
Lucian, <i>Dial. deor.</i> XIII, 2, } -----	27, p. 6.
<i>Tragopod.</i> 138, 142, }	
<i>de saltat.</i> § 12, -----	75, p. 33 n.
§ 16, -----	93, p. 31.
(Lysias) <i>Epitaph.</i> 194, (101), § 38, -----	79, p. 24.
Macrobius, <i>Sat.</i> I, 17, 16, -----	81, p. 3 n., 23.
I, 18, 6, -----	19, p. 5.
Makedon, -----	p. 36
Menander <i>Rhet.</i> I, -----	103, p. 34 n.
Nikander, (in Anton. Liber.), -----	177, p. 60.
<i>Ther.</i> 439, 687, -----	24, p. 6 n.
Orphic. <i>Argonaut.</i> 21, 175, 1356, -----	18, p. 5.
<i>Hymn.</i> VIII, 12; XI, 11; LII, 12, -----	25, p. 6 n.
XXXIV, 1, -----	18, p. 5.
LXVII, 1, -----	24, p. 6 n.
Pausanias, I, 2, 5, -----	p. 6.
I, 14, 4, -----	32, p. 15.
I, 34, 3, -----	p. 6.
III, 11, 9, -----	p. 33.
V, 1, 3, -----	26, p. 7.
V, 7, 6 and 14, 7, -----	p. 7.
X, 7, 2, -----	p. 26.

Pherekrates, <i>Pers.</i> 2, -----	154, p. 57.
Philodamos, -----	p. 38.
Philostratos, <i>Imag.</i> 371, 13, -----	85, p. 26.
Photios, <i>Lex.</i> s.v. <i>παῖνας</i> , -----	29, p. 5.
Pindar, <i>Pyth.</i> IV, 193, -----	p. 19 n.
IV, 270, -----	14, p. 5.
V, 60, -----	p. 5.
<i>Frag.</i> 52-69, -----	69, p. 50.
87, 88, -----	88, p. 31.
139, -----	112, p. 35.
Schol. on <i>Olymp.</i> I, 26, -----	143, p. 51 n.
on <i>Pyth.</i> II, 127, -----	62, p. 21.
on <i>Isthm.</i> I, p. 516, -----	88, p. 30.
<i>Vita</i> , p. 9, -----	110, p. 40.
Plato, <i>Critias</i> , 108 C, -----	46, p. 19.
[<i>Axiochus</i>], 365 B, -----	200, p. 64.
[<i>Epistol.</i> VI], 348 B, -----	79, p. 24.
<i>Laches</i> , 188 D, -----	p. 51.
<i>Ion</i> , 534 D, -----	89, p. 52, 54.
<i>Leges</i> , 664 C, -----	19, p. 5 n., 52.
700 B, D, -----	139, p. 14, 52.
<i>Politeia</i> , 383 B, -----	p. 19, 59.
399 A, -----	p. 51.
<i>Convivium</i> , 176 A, -----	153, p. 57.
177 A, -----	123 a, p. 41.
Schol. on <i>Pol.</i> II, 383 B, -----	79, p. 24.
on <i>Conviv.</i> 177 A, -----	6, p. 4.
<i>Bekker</i> , p. 341, -----	172, p. 59.
Plutarch, <i>Thes.</i> 22 ; 10 A, -----	163, p. 58.
<i>Romulus</i> , 16 ; 27 C, -----	181, p. 61.
<i>Lycurgus</i> , 22 ; 53 E, -----	62, p. 21, 52.
<i>Themist.</i> 8 ; 115 E, -----	79, p. 24.
<i>Aemil. Paul.</i> 34 ; 273 E, -----	203, p. 64.
35 ; 274 A, -----	198, p. 64.
<i>Marcellus</i> , 8 ; 302 A, -----	182, p. 61, 64.
<i>Titus</i> , 378 B, -----	188, p. 61, 64.
<i>Marius</i> , 20 : 416 E, -----	199, p. 64.
<i>Lysander</i> , 11 ; 439 B, -----	183, p. 61.
18 ; 443 B, -----	187, p. 61, 64.
<i>Crassus</i> , 26 ; 560, -----	79, p. 24.
<i>Cleomedes</i> , 16 ; 812 A, -----	119, p. 41, 53 n.
<i>Demosthenes</i> , 22 ; 856 A, -----	195, p. 64.

Plutarch, <i>Brutus</i> , 41 ; 1004 D, -----	195, p. 62, 64.
<i>Aratus</i> , 53 ; 1051 E, -----	120, p. 41, 53 n.
<i>Consol. Apoll.</i> 118 C, -----	29, p. 5.
<i>de E Delph.</i> 9 ; 389 B, -----	143, p. 54.
<i>de rhythm.</i> 24 ; 406 C, -----	118, p. 41, 54.
<i>Quaest. conviv.</i> 615 B, -----	158, p. 58, 59.
638 C, -----	p. 26.
713 A, -----	165, p. 41, 59.
743 C, -----	167, p. 58.
745 A, -----	19, p. 5.
<i>de musica</i> , 1075 F, -----	19, p. 5.
1134 C, -----	138, p. 34, 55.
1135 F, -----	p. 51.
1136 C, -----	174.
1136 F, -----	143, p. 51.
1140 C, -----	62, p. 21.
1141, 1143, -----	142, p. 24.
1146 C, -----	32, p. 15.
1147 A, -----	161, p. 58.
Pollux, <i>Onomast.</i> I, 38, -----	p. 1.
IV, 81, -----	142, p. 24.
Polybios, II, 29, 6 and III, 43, 8, -----	79, p. 41.
IV, 20, 8, -----	123, p. 27, 41.
Porphyry, <i>de abstinencia</i> , II, 18, -----	89, p. 27, 34.
<i>Vita Pythagor.</i> I, 32, -----	138, p. 34.
I, 33, -----	39, p. 12, 16.
Proklos in <i>Phot. Lex.</i> p. 985, -----	p. 35.
Sappho, <i>Frag.</i> 91, 107, 108 b, -----	p. 11 n.
Seneca, <i>Hercul. Oct.</i> 92, -----	19, p. 5.
Servius ad Verg. <i>Aen.</i> VI, 657, -----	104, p. 34 n.
X, 738, -----	6, 179, p. 34 n., 60.
Simonides, <i>Frag.</i> 26 B, -----	p. 47, 50.
Solon, <i>Frag.</i> XIII, 57, -----	12, p. 5.
Sophokles, <i>Antigone</i> , 133, and schol. -----	204, p. 62.
<i>Oedip. Tyr.</i> 4 f, -----	36, p. 15.
154, -----	15, p. 3, 5, 15, 16.
186, -----	36, p. 16 n.
1097, -----	p. 15.
<i>Philoctetes</i> , 167 f, 832, 1345, -----	15, p. 5, 30.
<i>Trachiniaiæ</i> , 210 f, and schol. -----	126, p. 35, 41, 64.
221, 1208, -----	15, p. 5.
<i>Frag.</i> 169, -----	15, p. 5, 44.

Sophokles, <i>Frag.</i> 375,-----	p. 57.
<i>Vita Soph.</i> No. 3,-----	176, p. 60.
Stesichoros (in Athen. 619 D),-----	p. 9.
Strabo, IX, 3, 10,-----	86, 194, p. 26, 62.
IX, 3, 12, p. 422,-----	70, p. 23, 26 n.
X, 4, 16,-----	138, p. 34.
X, 4, 18,-----	100, p. 33, 53 n.
XIV, 5, 6; p. 635,-----	19, p. 5.
VII, <i>Frag.</i> 140 (ed. Kramer, II, 86),-----	80, p. 24.
Suidas, <i>γυμνοπαῖδα</i> ,-----	101, p. 33.
<i>ἐξάρχοντες</i> ,-----	185, p. 61.
<i>θεόπομος</i> ,-----	29, p. 5.
<i>παῖδας</i> ,-----	169, p. 57.
Terentian. Maur. <i>de syllab.</i> 1586 f.-----	86, p. 27.
Theognis, 761 f.,-----	166, p. 54, 59.
776 f.,-----	106, p. 34, 41, 49, 51, 54, 56.
Theokritos, <i>Idyl.</i> V, 79; VI, 27, }-----	19, p. 5.
<i>Epigr.</i> I, 3; II, 1,-----	
Schol. on X, 41,-----	p. 10 n.
Theophrastos, <i>Hist. Plant.</i> IX, 8, 6,-----	29, p. 5.
<i>Frag.</i> 93,-----	142, p. 47.
Theophylaktos Sim. I, 7, 6; IV, 11, 6, }-----	189, p. 61.
IV, 15, 18,-----	
Thucydides, I, 50,-----	58, p. 21, 63.
II, 91,-----	192, p. 62.
IV, 43 and 96,-----	77, p. 21.
V, 70,-----	64, p. 22.
VI, 32,-----	42, p. 18, 19, 54.
VII, 75,-----	43, p. 18.
VII, 44,-----	67, p. 22.
VII, 83,-----	59, p. 21.
Schol. on I, 50 and on IV, 43,-----	60, p. 21, 63.
Timaios, <i>Lex. Platon.</i> <i>παυσίται</i> , {-----	48, p. 19.
{-----	205, p. 62.
Timotheos, <i>Frag.</i> XIII (<i>Poet. Lyr. Graec.</i> 624),-----	72, p. 23.
Valerius Flaccus, VI, 512,-----	177, p. 60.
Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> , VI, 657,-----	104, p. 56, 58.
X, 738,-----	179, p. 61.
Xenophanes, <i>Frag.</i> I, 15,-----	162, p. 58.
Xenophon, <i>Agésilas</i> , 2, 17,-----	95, p. 32.
<i>Anabasis</i> , I, 8, 17,-----	53, p. 21.
I, 8, 18,-----	78, p. 20 n.

Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> , I, 10, 10, -----	77, p. 20.
III, 2, 9, -----	45, p. 19.
IV, 3, 19, -----	49, p. 20.
IV, 3, 27 and 29, -----	50, p. 20.
IV, 3, 31, -----	77, p. 20.
IV, 8, 16, -----	45, p. 54.
V, 2, 14, -----	54, p. 20 n., 21 n., 24.
VI, 1, 5, -----	121, p. 56.
VI, 1, 11, -----	98, p. 32, 34 n., 53 n.
VI, 5, 27, -----	55, p. 20 n., 23, 24.
<i>Cyropaed.</i> III, 3, 58, -----	69, p. 23, 54.
IV, 1, 6, -----	144, p. 56.
VII, 1, 9 and 25, -----	52, p. 20 n., 21 n.
<i>Hellenica</i> , II, 4, 17; IV, 2, 19, -----	51, p. 20, 21.
IV, 5, 11, -----	94, p. 32.
IV, 7, 4, -----	109, p. 40, 56, 58.
VII, 2, 15, and 2, 23, -----	147, p. 56, 57, 61.
VII, 4, 36, -----	145, p. 56.
<i>Respub. Laced.</i> 13, 8, -----	65, p. 22.
<i>Symposium</i> , 2, 1, -----	146, p. 56.
Zenodotos, Παινονίη, -----	p. 2.

Inscriptions, C.I.G. 1897, -----	} ----- 18, p. 5.
1946, 5039, -----	
2292, 3158, 3538, -----	24, p. 6 n.
5973 c, -----	20, p. 5 n.
8385, -----	25, p. 6, 58.
C.I.A. I, 210, -----	17, p. 5.
II, 1527 f = C.I.G. 1946, -----	18, p. 5.
III, 5, -----	117, p. 41, 42, 54.
171, --	} ----- 114, p. 36 f., 107 f.
171 b, -----	
171 c, -----	
I.G.S.I. 269 (I.G.A. 516), -----	17, p. 6.
Kaibel, <i>Epigr. Graec.</i> 1046, -----	p. 11.
Bull. Corr. Heil. XI, 94, -----	<i>Addenda.</i>
XIV, 649, -----	116, p. 38 n.
XVII, 561 f. -----	p. 27 f.
XVIII, 71, -----	87, p. 29.
XVIII, 345 f. -----	p. 28 f.
XIX, 393, -----	p. 38 f.
’Εφ. ’Αρχ. 1884, σ. 25, -----	22, p. 6.
1885, σ. 65, -----	114, p. 36, 109.

GREEK INDEX.

Ἄγαθος δαίμων, 57.

Ἄδωνις, 9.

αἶδειν, 24.

ἀνταλαλάζειν, 48.

ἀντηχεῖν, 48.

Ἀπόλλων Παιών, 5.

Ἀρπαλύκη, 9.

Βάκχος, 8, 39.

Βῶρμος,

Γυμνοπαῖδιαι, 33, 34, 54.

Δαφνηφορία, 28.

Διθύραμβος, 9, 14.

ἐλελεῦ, 20, 21.

Ἐλεεύς, 8.

ἐξάρχοντες, 61.

ἐξιακχάζειν, 62.

ἐπιβόα, 56.

ἐπιμέλπειν, 24.

ἐπιπαιανισμός, 62.

ἐπευφημεῖν, } 24, 48, 54, 59.

εὐφημεῖν, }

ἐπίρρημα, 48.

ἐφύμνιον, ἐφυνμνεῖν, 48 f.

Εὖιος, 8.

εὐχαί, 14, 18, 19, 23, 48.

Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, 57.

θρήνος, 14, 42, 53, 54.

ιαχαί, 9, 34, 49.

Ἰακχος, 9.

Ἰάλεμος, 10.

ἱε παῖ, 23, (27).

ἱηπαιήων, 7, 25, 36.

ἰὸ Βάκχε, 39.

ἰόβακχος, 8.

Ἰουλος, 10.

Καλύκη, 9.

Καστόρειον μέλος, 21, 22.

κέλαδος, } 24, 49, 62.

κελαδεῖν, }

Λῖνος, 9.

Λιτυέρσης, 10.

Μανερῶς, 8.

μολπηδόν, 24.

νόμοι, 26.

ξυνεπηύχοντο, 18.

ὄλολυγή, 20, 23.

ὄρχησις, 31, 33.

Οὔλος, 10.

οὔπιγγος, 10.

Παιάν, 3 f, 35.

παιὰν ἐμβατήριος, 22.

παιὰν ἐπινίκιος, 61.

παιανίζειν, 23, 58, 62.

παιανισμός, 23, 24, 62 f, 68.

Παιωναῖος, 7.

παιώνιος, 4f, 15, 62.

πομπή, 36.

ποθόδιον, 29.

προσόδιον, 53, 60, 66.

πρόσοδος, 33.

σκόλια, 65.

σφάγια, 18, 20, 21, 22.

Σάβος, 8.

Ῥακίνθια, 32, 54.

Ῥμεναῖος, } 11.

Ῥμήν,

ῆμνείν, } 14, 29, 40, 66.

ῆμνος,

ῆμνος εὐχαριστήριος, 64.

ῆπόρχημα, 55, 66.

ῶδαί, 53.

ῶπις, 11.

ADDENDA.

NOTE 17, page 5. *Add.* Bull. Corr. Hell. XI, 94. Inscription from Hierocaesarea. Ἀθηνόδωρος / Μιθρήους / τοῦ Κράτητος / ἱερεὺς γενομέ/νος Ἑρώμης / Ἀπόλλωνι Παιᾶνι.

NOTE 88, page 31. Two fragments of Pindar (Bergk, 87, 88) probably come from the prosodiac paean here mentioned.

PAGE 23. Statius speaks of the paean before battle as sung in imitation of Hercules :

Theb. IV, 157 Herculeum paeana canunt, vastataque monstribus
omnia ; frondosa longumque deus audit ab Oeta.

PAGE 34, § 5. An old inscription from Thasos should also have been treated at this point :

Roehl, *Inscript. Graec. Antiq.* 379. Νύμφησιν κάπόλλωνι νυμφηγέτη θῆλυ
καὶ ἄρσεν, ἀμ βούλῃ, προσέρδειν · διν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῶρον · οὐ παιωνίζεται.

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